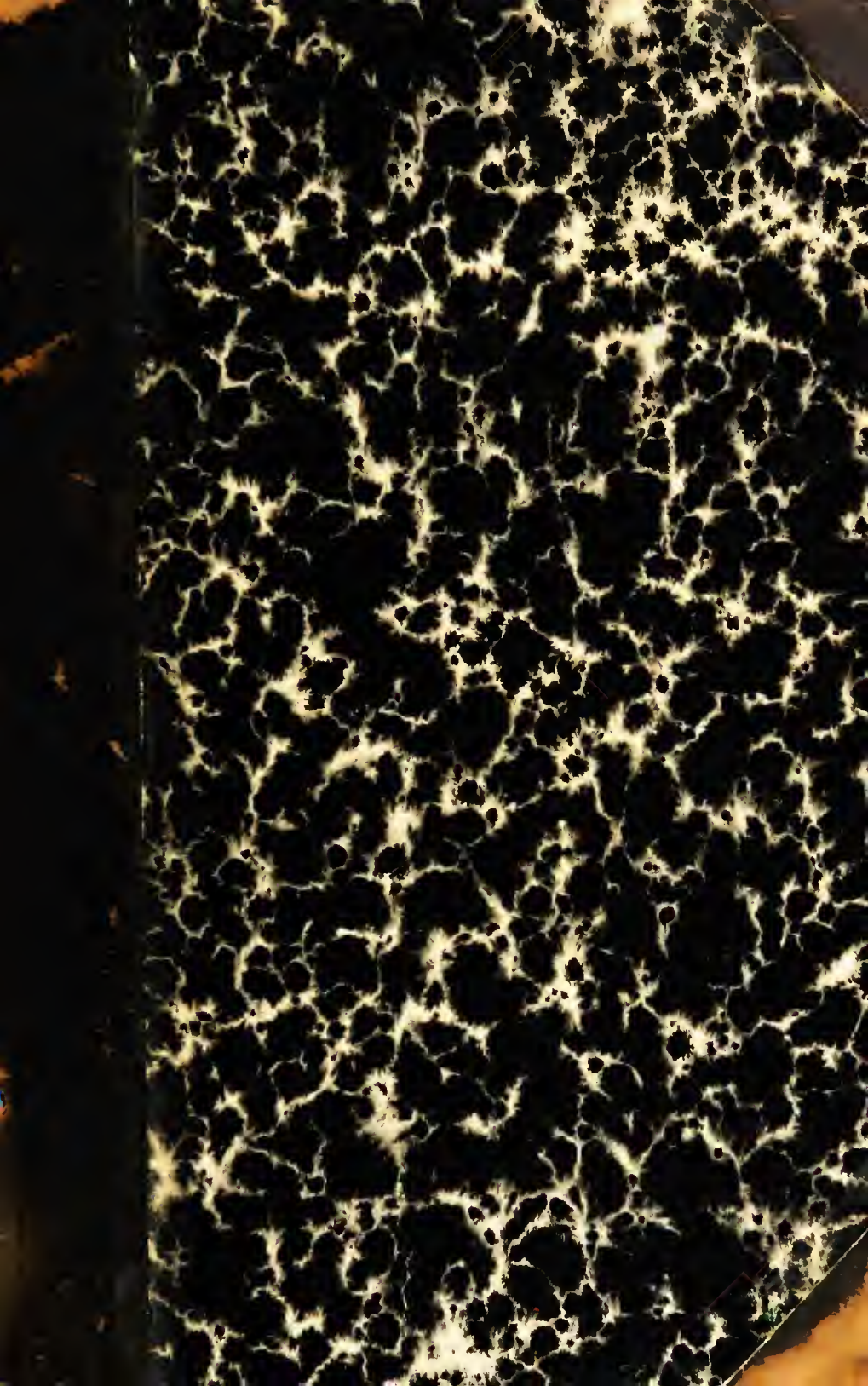


PE
1196
P94

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

ENGLISH COLLECTION

THE GIFT OF
JAMES MORGAN HART
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH

A.194107

Cornell University Library
PE 1196.P94
History of ablaut in the strong verbs fr
3 1924 026 632 921
olin

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924026632921

BONNER STUDIEN ZUR ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON PROF. DR. K. D. BÜLBRING.
HEFT III.

A HISTORY OF
ABLAUT IN THE STRONG VERBS
FROM CAXTON
TO THE END OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

BY

H. T. PRICE, PH.D. (BONN), B.A. (OXON)
LEKTOR FOR ENGLISH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN

BONN
PETER HANSTEIN, VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG
1910

Preface.

This dissertation is an attempt at a history of ablaut in the strong verbs from Caxton to the Elizabethan Age inclusive. By the Elizabethan Age I mean that epoch in English literature which may be said to have closed with the death of Ben Jonson in 1637. My method has been to examine the works of the great writers of prose and verse, and then, in order to see how far the usages of these men were peculiar to themselves and how far they were advanced or conservative, I have examined a large number of works of every variety and standing in prose, verse and the drama. Next, in order to see what difference print made, to determine how wide the gulf may have been between literary and colloquial use and to find out, if possible, what people really said in every-day life, I have examined letters, diaries and other MSS. which have not been printed till our own day. Unless I have stated the contrary in my *List of Books Used,* I have taken out every form from the works in question and estimated the frequency of its use. The material thus brought together was found to be much too large for the limits of a dissertation for the doctorate, so I have merely given a summary of results, and partly complete lists of certain forms. The whole of the material has been deposited in the Library of the English Seminar at Bonn, and it will be easily accessible to any scholar who wishes to make further researches on this subject.

I have arranged the Classes on Sievers' system. The forms of each verb have been given under three headings: *Infinitive, Preterite, Participle.* Under *Infinitive* I have included all the forms of the present stem. When the infinitive is always what one would normally expect, I have not

troubled to give a list of forms. When however there is great variety in the infinitive, as in *choose, lose, shoot,* I have given the forms in full. Under the *Preterite* I have included the singular and plural forms. I have not found that any writer regularly distinguishes between the pt. sg. and pt. pl., and the few cases of forms occurring in the pl. which do not occur in the sg. — or *vice versa* — have been carefully noticed. By *Participle,* I mean of course the past participle only. I have also given the forms of the verbs in the modern dialects. Such forms are interesting as showing the further development of ablaut and as supporting conclusions for which there is otherwise little evidence. Each class is discussed by itself, points of interest affecting several classes are discussed under a general heading. I have added a chapter on the ablaut in particular writers and a Summary of results.

There now remains the pleasant duty of thanking those who have helped me in the preparation of this work. To Sir James Murray I am indebted for help from the resources of the New English Dictionary, and also to Dr. Craigie. To Professor Schröer, of Cologne, I am indebted for the loan of books and for many valuable suggestions. Mr. C. G. Balk, of Oxford, has lightened my work considerably by verifying references for me at the Bodleian. Mr. Rohr, of Bonn, has also been good enough to look up some manuscripts in the British Museum for me. To Professor Bülbring I am especially indebted for constant advice and for his friendly interest and encouragement during the progress of the work.

Bonn, April, 1910. H. T. Price.

Contents.

	Page
Introductory Remarks	1
Class I	3
„ II	37
„ III	55
„ IV	96
„ V	110
„ VI	142
„ VII	162
Summary of Results	188

Corrections.

P. 41 instead of *i-glied* read *i-glide.*

Owing to changes in the latter part of the work, when the earlier sheets had already been printed off, the following corrections have to be made:

pp. 53, 106, 111, 120, 125	instead of	§ 200	read	§ 201.
p. 55	„	„ § 184	„	§ 187.
p. 56	„	„ § 181	„	§ 184.
p. 62	„	„ § 139	„	§ 140.
p. 69	„	„ § 182	„	§ 185.
p. 81	„	„ § 154	„	§ 156.
p. 93	„	„ § 184	„	§ 187.
p. 120	„	„ §§ 159, 161	„	§§ 162, 164.
pp. 130, 139	„	„ § 112	„	§ 113.
p. 139	„	„ § 154	„	§ 156.
p. 139	„	„ § 116	„	§ 117.
pp. 144, 145, 150	„	„ § 135	„	§ 136.

Abbreviations.

a	(before a date) ante
adj.	adjective, adjectival
adv.	adverb, adverbial
c	(before a date) circa
dial.	dialect
ed.	edition
eME.	early Middle English
freq.	frequently
ib.	ibidem, in the same place
ind.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
intr.	intransitive
l.	line
lME.	late Middle English
ME.	Middle English
mod.	modern
Mod. E.	modern English
MSS.	here especially means works which have remained in manuscript till modern times
n.	note
o.	often
OE.	Old English
p.	page
pass.	passive
pers.	person
pl.	plural
ppl.	participle, participial
pt.	preterite
r.	rime
refl.	reflexive
sb.	substantive
sbj.	subjunctive
sg.	singular
trans.	transitive
vb.	verb
v. o.	very often
v. r.	variant reading.

List of books used.

(See below, refers to the *List of books consulted.)*

Anglia, Volumes XII, XXVI and XXXI. A XII; *Liedersammlungen des XV. Jahrhunderts, besonders aus der Zeit Heinrich VIII,* published in Anglia, vol. XII, by E. Flügel. Pp. 230-56 are from the British Museum Add. MSS. 31922, of the second decade of the 16th century. Pp. 258-72 are from the Royal MSS., App. 58, written in the first decade of the 16th century. A XXVI, a reprint by E. Flügel in Anglia, vol. XXVI, of the songs in the Balliol College MSS., No. 354., written early in the 16th century. A XXXI, a collection of lyrics from a MSS. of about 1540, published by F. M. Padelford in Anglia, vol. XXXI.

Ascham (1515-68), a Yorkshireman by birth, educated at Cambridge. *English Works,* edited by W. Aldis Wright, Cambridge 1904.

AuV., see *Bible.*

Bale, see *Moser* below.

Barclay, see *Dalheimer* below.

Berners (1467-1533), born probably in Hertfordshire. *The Boke of Huon of Bordeux,* edited by S. L. Lee for the E. E. T. S., Extra Series, No. 40, 41, 43, 50. Variants from the edition of 1601 are quoted. [BernH.]

Bible, The *"Authorized Version"* of 1611 quoted from the edition in five volumes in Nutt's "Tudor Translations" Series (1903-4). I have used the *Concordance* by James Strong, published by Hodder and Stoughton, 1903. Every pt. and ppl. form given in this Concordance has been looked up without exception. Quoted as AuV. *Mod. edd.* refers to reprints of the AuV. in modern spelling; it does not refer to the *Revised Version,* which is quoted as RV. *Hexapla* refers to the edition of six translations of the New Testament issued by Bagster: T., Tindale 1534, C., Cranmer 1539, G., Geneva 1557, R., Rheims, 1582.

Bolle, W., *Die gedruckten englischen Liederbücher bis 1600.* Palaestra Bd. 29.

Bullein, *A dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence* by William Bullein, from the edition of 1578 collated with the earlier editions of 1564 and 1573. E. E. T. S., Extra Series, No. 52. Only a few special forms noted.

Bullokar, William, quoted from Plessow's edition in *Palaestra*, Heft 52. See also *Hauck*, below.

Caxton, The following works printed by Caxton have been used:

The Game of the Chesse from the second edition, without date, reproduced in facsimile by Vincent Figgins in 1860. Quoted as C. with signature, so C. a iij.

Blanchardyn and Eglantine (c 1489) from the E. E. T. S. edition, Extra Series, No. 58. [B. and page.]

The Curial (1484) from the E. E. T. S. edition, Extra Series, No. 54. [Cu. and page.]

Dialogues in French and English (1483) from the E. E. T. S. edition, Extra Series, No. 79. [D. and page.]

Eneydos (1490) from the E. E. T. S. edition, Extra Series, No. 57. [E. and page.]

Godeffroy of Boloyne (1481) from the E. E. T. S. edition, Extra Series, No. 64. [GB. and page.]

Le morte D'Arthur (1485) by Sir Thomas Malory, from the edition by Dr. Sommer, published by David Nutt in 1889. [M. and signature.]

Reynard the Fox (1481) from Arber's edition in the English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works (1878). [R. and page.]

Quotations from all other works of Caxton's have been taken from the NED. I wish to make this general acknowledgement of indebtedness here, in order to avoid repeating it every time.

CeP., see *Süssbier* below.

Chapman (1559?-1634), born at Hitchin in Hertfordshire. *Dramatic Works*, 3 volumes, Pearson, 1873. Only used to confirm results.

Cocks, *The Diary of Rickard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan 1615-22*, edited by E. Maunde Thompson for the Hakluyt Society in 1883. 2 volumes. Nothing can be said with certainty as to the place where Cocks was born and brought up. His Diary is useful as illustrating the English of the middle classes towards the end of our period. [Cocks. Where no volume is mentioned, the first is meant.]

Coverdale, I have gone through Bagster's reprint of Coverdale's translation of the Bible (1535), with the help of a concordance to the AuV. Gaps have been filled up from Miss Swearingen's dissertation. See *Swearingen*, below. [Cov.]

Daines, *Orthoepia Anglicana* first published in 1640. Daines was a Suffolk man. Quoted from the edition by Rösler and Brotanek (1908).

Dee, *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee*, Camden Society, 1842. Dee was a Londoner of good education. The Diary extends from 1577 to 1600. Only used to confirm results.

Queen Elizabeth's Englishings, E. E. T. S., Orig. Series, No. 113. Only used for special forms. [Eliz. Eng.]

Letters of Queen Elizabeth and King James VI of Scotland. Camden Society, 1849. The letters were derived from various sources. Some were originals, others were eighteenth copies. Their value is to a certain extent doubtful. Only used for special forms. Where the contrary is not stated, the quotations are from Elizabeth's letters. [Eliz. & J.]

Ellis, *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, published by Henry Ellis. Series i, in three volumes, ed. 2, 1825. Series ii, in four volumes, 1827. Series iii, in four volumes, 1846. In order not to bring together letters widely separate in time, I have divided the quotations from Ellis into four parts, Ellis A 1485-1530, Ellis B 1530-70, Ellis C 1570-1603. Ellis D 1603-1630. Where the author was a famous man or bore some title which would indicate what position he held, I give the name and title; otherwise I only give the vocation, as *agent, servant*; in the case of private persons whose names would convey nothing and whose position it is difficult to define, I leave out the name if they write normal English: if they write bad English or dialect or if their English is in any way peculiar, I note the fact. The Series is denoted by Roman figures in this type i, ii, iii, volume by figures in this type I, II, III. Ellis A ii. III, 234, means in Ellis before 1530, Series ii, volume III, page 234.

Fenton, *Certain Tragical Discourses of Bandello* translated into English by Geffraie Fenton, Anno 1567, published by Nutt in the "Tudor Translations" Series, in two volumes, 1898. Not fully excerpted.

Fisher (1459-1535), *The English Works* of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester E. E. T. S., Extra Series, No. 27. Fisher was a Yorkshireman by birth.

Fletcher (1585-1623), *The Complete Works* of Giles Fletcher edited by A. B. Grosart, Chatto and Windus, 1876. Fletcher was probably a Londoner by birth. Investigated only for the rimes. [GF.]

Gascoigne (?1525-77), *The Complete Poems* of George Gascoigne by William Carew Hazlitt, in two volumes, printed for the Roxburghe Library, 1869. Gascoigne (II, 139) speaks of "suche Itallyan as I have lerned in London, and such lattyn

as I forgatt att Cantabrydge: suche frenche as I borowed in holland, and suche Englishe as I stale in westmerland." [Gasc. vol. and page.]

Gill, Alexander, *Logonomia Anglica* nach der Ausgabe von 1621 diplomatisch herausgegeben von Otto L. Jiriczek. (Quellen und Forschungen, Heft 90, 1903.) I take from p. xxxv of Professor Jiriczek's Preface, the following comparison between Gill's vowel-system and the values given by Ellis:

	Gill.	Ellis.
Short.	a, e, i, o, u.	a, e, *i*, o, u.
Long.	ä, ë, ï, ö, ü.	aa, ee, ii, oo, uu.
	â, v, j.	AA, yy, əi.
Semi-vowels	y, w.	J, w.

Jiriczek disagrees with Ellis in giving to Gill's j the value of [*əi*], and he is himself inclined to think it was either [*ei*] or [*ii*]. Luick thinks that it has the value of [*œi*]. The following table gives the consonants in Gill's system and in that of Ellis. (See Jiriczek, p. xxxvii.)

Gill. ch, ð, *v*, z, h, ħ, q(u), ng, x.

Ellis. tsh, dh, v, dzh, H, kh, kw, q, ks.

Glanvill, John, *The Voyage to Cadiz in 1625.* Camden Society, 1883. Written in scholarly English. Not fully excerpted. [Voy. C.].

Herrig's Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen. [HA.].

Hall or Halle (-1548). *The Vnion of the two . . . famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, commonly known as his *Chronicle.* I quote from the edition of 1550. I have only taken the part referring to Henry VIII.

Hart, John, *An Orthographie,* excerpted by Jespersen in *Anglistischen Forschungen,* Heft 22, (1907), under the title of *John Hart's Pronunciation of English 1569 and 1570.*

Harvey, *The Letter-book of Gabriel Harvey,* A. D. 1573-80. Camden Society, 1884. Harvey was an Essex man and was educated at Cambridge. I have used only his letters, the literary exercises contained in this book I have left alone.

Herbert, George, (1593-1633), a Montgomeryshire man. I have used the facsimile reprint of the 1633 ed. of his *Temple,* published in 1893 by Fisher Unwin. Investigated for the rimes only. [GH.].

Hexapla, see *Bible.*

Heywood, John, see *Unna* below.

Heywood, Thomas (-?1650), a Lincolnshire man, according to his own account. I have used the edition of his *Works* in

six volumes, published by Pearson in 1874. [Heyw. vol. and page.

Hoby (1530-1566), a Herefordshire man, educated at Cambridge. *The Book of the Courtier from the Italian of Count Baldassare Castiglione,* 1561, reprinted by Nutt in the "Tudor Translations" Series, in 1900.

Jonson, Ben, (1573-1637), a Londoner by birth. His name is abbreviated BJ. Of his works I have used the following:

Alchemist, text from 1616 ed., printed in Yale Studies in English, No. 17, 1903, edited by C. M. Hathaway, Ph. D. [A.].

Bartholomew Fair, text from the 1631-41 ed., Yale Studies in English, No. 25, 1904, edited by C. S. Alden, Ph. D. [BF.].

The Devil is an Ass, from the 1631 ed., Yale Studies in English, No. 29, 1905, edited by W. S. Johnson, Ph. D. [D.].

Epicoene, from the 1611 ed., Yale Studies in English, No. 31, 1906, edited by Aurelia Henry, Ph. D. [E.].

Every Man in his Humour, from Qo. of 1601, in Shakespeare Jahrbuch XXXVIII. 1902, edited by Carl Grabau. [EMH.].

Poetaster, from the 1611 ed., Yale Studies in English, No. 27, 1905, edited by H. S. Mallory, Ph. D. [P.].

Staple of News, from the 1631 ed., Yale Studies in English, No. 28, 1905, edited by De Winter, Ph. D. [SN.].

Volpone, text from the 1616 ed., edited by H. B. Wilkins. Thèse de Doctorat d'Université presentée à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris. 1906. [V.].

The above plays are quoted by act and scene. I have also looked up the *Masques* and *Lyrics* (for the rime only) in the edition of 1640. BJG. refers to his *Grammar,* which is quoted by chapter from volume IX of his Works, ed. 1875.

Kyd, see *Crawford* below.

Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, during his Government of the Low Countries, in the years 1585 and 1586. Camden Society, 1844. From a transcript made at the beginning of the 17th century by a writter who is not always trustworthy. A few letters were taken from the Harleian and Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. When not otherwise stated, the letters are by Leicester himself. [Lei. Corr.].

Levins, *Manipulus Vocabulorum.* A sort of riming dictionary of the date 1570. From the edition published by the Camden Society.

Lyly, John, (1554-1605), a native of Kent. I have quoted from R. W. Bond's edition of his *Works* in three volumes, Oxford,

1902. *Euphues* is referred to as LyE., vol. and page; the plays are referred to as LyP., vol. and page.

Machyn, Henry, *Diary from 1550-1563.* Camden Society, 1848. Machyn was a London tradesman of little education and most erratic spelling.

Manningham, John, *Diary from 1602-3.* Camden Society, 1868. Manningham was a London barrister and he writes good scholarly English. [Mann.].

Nashe (1567-1601) born at Lowestoft. I have used his *Works* in four volumes, edited by R. B. McKerrow, published by A. H. Bullen in 1904. The following is the list of works quoted with the abbreviations used. Reference is to signature of original edition. *Anatomie of Absurditie* (AA.) 1590 ed. *Return of Pasquill* (RP.) 1589 ed. *First Part of Pasquils Apologie* (PA.) 1590 ed. *Pierce Pennilesse* (PP.) 1592. *Strange Newes* (STR. N.) 1592. *The Terrors of the Night* (TN.) 1594. *Christ's Teares* (CT.) 1593. *Unfortunate Traueller* (UT.) 1594. *Dido* (by Marlowe and Nashe) 1594. (D. quoted by act, scene and line). *Haue with you to Saffron Walden* (SW.) 1596. *Lenten Stuffe* (LS.) 1599. *Summer's Last Will* (SLW.) 1600. I have only looked through Nashe to test results otherwise arrived at.

Orologium Sapientiae from MS. Douce 114, published in *Anglia,* vol X, by Professor Holthausen. The MS. is of the last quarter of the 15th century. [Or. Sap. and page.]

Painter (1540?-1594), a Southerner. *The Palace of Pleasure* from the three volume edition published by Nutt in 1890, based on the text of 1566-75. Not fully excerpted (PPP.).

Palsgrave, *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse.* From the reprint of the French Government in 1852. [Palsgr.].

Pico. Sir Thomas More's translation of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, edited by J. M. Rigg, and published by D. Nutt in 1890.

Shakespeare. I have used Schmidt's *Concordance,* but verified every reference in the Folio itself. My edition of the Folio was the Facsimile reprint issued for Lionel Booth in 1864. For the *Poems* and *Pericles* I have used the reprint edited by S. L. Lee and issued by the Clarendon Press in 1905. I have used the same abbreviations as Schmidt. References to the Quarto-editions have been taken from Schmidt [Shaks.].

Skelton (?1460-1529), probably a Norfolk man. I have used the two volume edition of his *Works* edited by the Rev. Alexander Dyce in 1843. I have consulted it mostly for the rimes. See also *Schoeneberg* below. [Sk. vol., page].

Faery Queene. See also *Boehm, Badermeister, These* belo
[Sp.] *Mother Hubberd's Tale* [MHT.]; *State of Ireland* [SI.

Surrey (? 1517-47), a Southerner. Quoted from the transcriptic of various MSS. in the British Museum, published by F. I Padelford in *Anglia* XXIX. [Surrey and page of Anglia].

Tottell. I have looked through Arber's edition of Tottell Miscellany for the rimes. See also *Hoelper* below. [Tott

Underdowne, Thomas, translation of *Heliodorus,* in the "Tud Translations" Series, published by David Nutt, 1895. Tl source is the second edition of 1587. [Und.].

Voy. C., see *Glanvill.*

Worde, W. de, referred to as printer of some variant reading [W. de W.].

Wyatt (1513-42), a Kentishman. I have quoted from the te given in *Anglia* XVIII and XIX. Wyatt XIX, 276, mear that the word will be found on page 276 of Anglia vol. XI

List of books consulted.

E. A. Abbot, *A Shakespearian Grammar.* The edition of 1888 has been used.

C. S. Baldwin, *The Inflexions and Syntax of the Morte d'Arthur.* Boston, Ginn and Co., 1894.

K. Bauermeister, *Zur Sprache Spensers auf Grund der Reime in der Faerie Queene.* Diss. Freiburg, 1896.

K. Bernigau, *Orthographie und Aussprache in Richard Stanyhurst's englischer Übersetzung der Æneide* (1583). Diss. Marburg, 1903.

K. Boehm, *Spensers Verbalflexion.* Diss. Berlin, 1909.

B. ten Brink, *Chauser's Sprache und Verskunst.* Ed. 2. 1899.

E. Brugger, *Zur lautlichen Entwicklung der englischen Schrift-Sprache im Anfang des XVI. Jahrhunderts.* Quoted from *Anglia* XV.

K. D. Bülbring, *Geschichte des Ablauts der starken Zeitwörter innerhalb des Südenglischen.* Quellen und Forschungen, Heft 63, 1889.

Charles Butler, *The English Grammar.* Oxford 1634.

C. Crawford, *A Concordance to the Works of Thomas Kyd* in *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas,* Bd. XV, 1906, Louvain. Abbreviations used: *Puck.* = Letter to Sir John Puckering. *ST.* = The Spanish Tragedie. *STA.* = The Spanish Tragedie Additions. *STBal.* = The Spanish Tragedie Ballad. *SP.* = Soliman and Perseda. *Cor.* = Cornelia. *HPInd.* = Index to The Housholders Philosophie. *HP.* = The Housholders Philosophie. *JB.* = The Murder of John Brewen. *Eng. Parn.* = England's Parnassus. *Jer.* = The First Part of Jeronimo. *VPJ.* = Verses of Prayse and Joye. *Ard.* = Arden of Feversham. Mr. Crawford has counted the lines of Kyd's Works as they stand in the edition of Professor Boas, and gives the reference to these lines.

V. Dalheimer, *Die Sprache Alexander Barclay's* in *The Shyp of Folys of the Worlde* (1509). Diss. Zürich. Dalheimer used T. H. Jamieson's edition, printed in 1874 by William Paterson, and gives reference to volume and page. [Barc.]

W. Dibelius, *John Capgrave und die englische Schriftsprache* in *Anglia* XXIII and XXIV. The part referring to the strong verbs is in XXIV, pp. 225-45.

L. Diehl, *Englische Schreibung und Aussprache im Zeitalter Shakespeares nach Briefen und Tagebüchern.* Diss. Giessen, 1906.

Englische Studien. [E. St.]

J. Fischer, *Das „Interlude of the Four Elements"* (c. 1517). Mit einer Einleitung neu herausgegeben. Diss. Marburg, 1902.

W. Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik.* Heidelberg, Winter, 1909.

E. Gasner, *Beiträge zum Entwickelungsgang der Neuenglischen Schriftsprache.* Diss. Göttingen, 1891.

K. Fuhr, *Lautuntersuchungen zu Stephen Hawes Gedicht The Pastime of Pleasure.* Diss. Marburg, 1891.

H. Hanssen, *Die Geschichte der starken Zeitwörter im Nordenglischen.* Diss. Kiel, 1906.

E. Hauck, *Systematische Lautlehre Bullokars* (*Vocalismus*). Diss. Marburg, 1906.

F. Hoelper, *Die englische Schriftsprache in Tottell's „Miscellany" (1557) und in Tottell's Ausgabe von Brooke's „Romeus und Juliet" (1562).* Diss. Strassburg, 1894. The Miscellany is quoted as Tott. and page, Brooke as Tott. B and line.

A. Hoffmann, *Laut- und Formenlehre in Reginald Pecocks „Repressor".* Diss. Greifswald, 1900.

P. Knopff, *Darstellung der Ablautverhältnisse in der schottischen Schriftsprache.* Diss. Bern, 1904.

J. Lekebusch, *Die Londoner Urkundensprache von 1430-1500* in *Studien zur Englischen Philologie,* herausgegeben von Lorenz Morsbach, Heft 23, 1906. [Lkbsch.]

R. Liese, *Die Flexion des Verbums bei Spenser.* Diss. Halle, 1891, Liese gives references to the page of the Globe edition, I have changed this to a reference to canto and stanza or line.

K. Luick, *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte.* Strassburg 1896. [Unters.] — *Studien zur englischen Lautgeschichte.* 1903.

A. Lummert, *Die Orthographie der ersten Folioausgabe der Shakspere'schen Dramen.* Diss. Berlin, 1883.

O. Moser, *Untersuchungen über die Sprache John Bale's.* Diss. Berlin, 1902.

H. Römstedt, *Die englische Schriftsprache bei Caxton.* Preisschrift Göttingen, 1891. [Römst.]

E. Rudolf, *Die englische Orthographie von Caxton bis Shakespeare.* Diss. Marburg, 1904.

K. Schau, *Sprache und Grammatik der Dramen Marlowes.* Diss. Leipzig, 1901. Abbreviations: *T1* = Tamburlaine, pt. I, *T2* = Tamburlaine, pt. II. *F1* = Faustus 1604 ed., *F2* = Faustus 1616 ed. *J.* = Jew of Malta. *E.* = Edward II. *M.* = The Massacre of Paris. *D.* = Dido. For *Tamburlaine, Faust* and the *Jew of Malta* the editions by Breymann and Wagner were used, for the other plays the edition of the *Works* by Dyce. Reference is to page.

G. Schoeneberg, *Die Sprache John Skelton's in seinen kleineren Werken.* Diss. Marburg, 1888. The reference is to volume and page of Dyce's ed. of the Works.

Fredrik Schmidt, *Studies in the Language of Pecock.* Diss. Upsala, 1900.

W. Sopp, *Orthographie und Aussprache der ersten Neuenglischen Bibelübersetzung von William Tyndale.* Diss. Marburg, 1889.

K. Süssbier, *Sprache der Cely-Papers, einer Sammlung von englischen Kaufmannsbriefen aus den Jahren 1475-1488.* Diss. Berlin, 1905. Reference to page of the edition of the *Cely Papers* published in 1900 by H. E. Malden for the Royal Historical Society. Malden has printed from the original letters themselves, reproducing their spelling, but not always with consistency. *Cely Papers* are abbreviated as CeP.

Grace Fleming Swearingen, *Die englische Schriftsprache bei Coverdale.* Diss. Berlin, 1904.

H. Sweet, *The History of English Sounds* is quoted as HES. and section (§), the *New English Grammar* as NEG. and §.

J. Unna, *Die Sprache John Heywood's in seinem Gedichte The Spider and the Flie.* Diss. Rostock, 1903.

W. Vietor, *A Shakespeare Phonology.* Marburg 1906.

A. Wackerzapp, *Geschichte der Ablaute der starken Zeitwörter innerhalb des Nordenglischen.* Diss. Münster, 1890.

J. Wille, *Die Orthographie in Roger Ascham's Toxophilus und Scholemaster.* Diss. Marburg, 1889.

J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary* is quoted as EDD., and *The English Dialect Grammar* as EDG. All my lists of strong verbs in the dialects have been taken from the latter.

Introductory Remarks on the Spelling.

§ 1. A point of some difficulty throughout the dissertation has been to decide how far the spelling is a trustworthy indication of vowel-length. Römst. (p. 5) says Caxton's habit was to add *-e* after a long accent-vowel and a voiced final consonant, if the length of the vowel was not already indicated in some other way. But the rule has so many exceptions that it is not to be relied upon, and he gives as examples *swyn* (= swine), *dam* (= dame), *yer* (= year), *abyd* (= abide). If the length of the vowel was already indicated or the final consonant was voiceless, the *-e* could be used or omitted. An ornamental *-e* was often used after a double final consonant, as in *bedde*. An *-e* was always added to final *-u*, as in *fiue*, and to "soft" (assibilated) *g* as in *corage*. Lkbsch. (p. 9) finds it impossible to draw conclusions from the final *-e* as to length of vowel. He adds that doubling the consonant is not a certain sign of shortness. On p. 125, he says that *-e* has a tendency to drop after *d* and *t*, except in the inf. Süssbier finds in CeP. (p. 15) that *-e* can be written or dropped after a voiceless final consonant, *e. g.*, *wrot* or *wrote*, *gret* or *grete*, and can be added after short vowels, *e. g.*, *cane*, *gentyllmane*, *frome*, *mane*, *hyme*. Miss Swearingen (p. 9) finds in Coverdale no *-e* after a syllable certainly short, except where the consonant is doubled. Dalheimer (p. 8) finds that *-e* in Barclay is generally a sign of length after a single final consonant, but is not always so, cf. *shap* and *shape*. *-e* always comes after *u* in *liue*, *giue*. Also, that doubling a consonant is not necessarily a sign of shortness, *Joohnn*, *greatter*, *-est*, *gretter*, *-est*. And adds "aus alledem geht hervor, dass in zweifelhaften Fällen

die Schreibung allein kein zuverlässiges Kriterium zur Bestimmung der Quantität ist". Bernigau (pp. 18-21) finds that the *-e* in Stanyhurst is without any importance as a rule. The fullest discussion of the matter is in Rudolf (pp. 31-4). He quotes a complaint from Webbe (p. 70): "it were a great helpe if there were some derection in such wordes as fall not within the compasse of Greeke or Latine rules, such as ... admytte an *-e* in the ende after one or two consonantes". Final *-e*, he finds, is added as a sign of length after long vowels and diphthongs in words that end in single or double consonants, or in such as end in two consonants in inflexions as *disdainde, awakte.* It is very often wanting after *-st.* But it is often wanting after long vowels (*on, ston, non, ther*) and added after short vowels (*quyke, withe* = with, *mane* = man, *frome, hase, one* = on). The other rules he has drawn up do not concern us here. Sweet (HES. § 769) says "The irregularity in the use of silent *e* and of consonant-doubling in early Modern English was, as we are expressly told by Salesbury, kept up for the convenience of the printers — in consideration for iustifying of the lynes".

I will add a few examples of inconsistency that I have collected for myself. Crowley in his *Last Trumpe* (E. E. T. S.) p. 55 rimes *nam* (= name) with *blame,* spells *write* twice as *wryte,* but on the same page spells *bite* as *byt* and rimes it with *wit* (= *wite,* blame). In Fenton (I, 12) there is a commendatory poem from Sir John Conway in which *write,* so spelt, rimes with *delyght*; a few lines lower down, it rimes with *spyte* and is spelt *writ.* In another poem on p. 15, *quite* rimes with *wight* and is spelt *quitt.* In Bolle (*Palaestra,* Heft 29) I find: *betyd me* : *beside me* (p. 52); *requit* inf. : *delight* (p. 79); *hite* pt. (= hit) : *wit* (p. 117).

The list could be extended indefinitely, but it is enough to show that in Elizabethan times we cannot rely upon omission or retention of final *-e,* or upon the doubling of final consonants, as signs of quantity. I have treated this question in full because it affects so many of the strong verbs and I do not wish to have to repeat again and again that no reliance is to be placed on particular forms.

Class I.

§ 2. Class I had the following ablaut-series in OE.:

ī ā ĭ ĭ.

On the whole, the group kept well together in early ME. and underwent comparatively little modification. *Sīcan* and *spīwan* disappeared, and their function was taken over by weak verbs similar in form. *Rive, thrive* and *strive* were adopted, the first two from ON., the last from OFr. In the fifteenth century the weak verb *cīdan* took over the forms of this class. In *writhe* grammatical change was given up. Chaucer shows no irregularities in such verbs as he uses, and he still has *i* in the pt. pl. See ten Brink, § 153. The same is true of the older text of Wyclif, except that some verbs had become weak. See Dibelius, § 250. The only considerable variation in these verbs is that *e* is often found for *i* (see Bülbring, p. 84), this continues right down to the 17th century. About 1400 an important change sets in. The *o* of the pt. sg. begins to supplant *i* in the pt. pl. Although there is no instance of this in the earlier text of Wyclif, it is fairly common in the later version. Its use increases rapidly, Pecock has only *o*, Capgrave both *o* and *i*, and in the Paston Letters *o* is much more frequent than *i*. In addition some verbs begin to show occasional weak forms. Bülbring gives examples of this for *shine* from Trevisa, Chestre and Troye. The latter is confirmed by rime. *Twit* (OE. *ætwītan*) occurs weak in Robert of Gloucester, see Bradley-Stratmann, s. v. Dibelius gives weak forms from the earlier text of Wyclif for *shine, smite, stigan,* from the later text for *abide, drive, rise, strive, write,* from Lydgate and Hoccleve

for *smite*, from the Paston Letters for *write*. That is the history of these verbs up to Caxton's time.

§ 3. The most interesting phenomenon during our period is the frequent appearance of *e* in the inf. (see *bide, drive, shine, write, writhe*), as well as in the ppl. and in such pts. as were formed from the ppl. The two cases must be kept distinct, as in the inf. the vowel was originally long, while in the pt. pl. and ppl. it was originally short. Knopff (p. 68) gives similar forms for the inf. of these verbs in Scotch, and explains them after Luick (Unters. § 414) by saying that as *i* could often be written for *e*, so *e* came to be written for *i*. Occasional instances of *e* being written for ME. *ī* are given by Rudolf (p. 13), and Diehl (p. 34). Knopff's explanation would be good for most cases; in *drive*, however, the influence of *give* may have had something to do with it. Mere bad spelling is the explanation in one or two cases, cf. *bide* and *shine*. The inf. *weet* has a different origin; it starts from OE. short *i*, not from long *i*, and is therefore to be explained in the same way as the ppl. of these verbs. The pt. *red* in Machen probably shows a mere confusion of *e* and *i*, though as *reden* was possible in the pt. pl. and ppl., *red* might be regarded as coming from this form, but this seems to me unlikely. [*red*] is a very common pt. in modern dialects.

Where *e* appears in the pt. pl. and ppl., it may be in some cases a spelling for *i*. Such spellings were very common in the 16th century, especially in open syllables. See Rudolf (pp. 5-6), Diehl (pp. 19-21). But more often it represents a lengthening and lowering of [*ĭ*] to [*ē*] in an open syllable. The literature on this subject is immense. See Luick, Unters. § 381 *et seq.*, Stud. (esp. p. 208 *et seq.*); articles by various hands in HA. from XCVIII. to CLV.; Z. D. A. Anz. XIII, 97; Heuser in E. St. XXVII, pp. 353-98; Dibelius, §§ 49, 50; Kruisinga, Dialect of West Somerset, § 483 *et seq.*; Luick, A. Beibl. XIX, 13 *et seq.*

The ppl. spelt with *e* can be found in the following words; *abide, drive, ride, rise, rive, shrive, smite, strike, write, writhe*. The inf. of *witan* falls to be considered here, because its vowel was originally short. It certainly has *ē* [*ī*] in some writers.

Caxton has pt. pl. *smeton*. There are the following rimes:

J. Heywood Spider and Flie *dreuen* : *euen* 129, 212, *dreuine* : *geuine* 455; LyP. *driuen* : *Heauen* III, 154; Heyw. *driuen* : *euen* VI, 104, *giuen* VI, 159 (*giuen* : *euen* VI, 156).

More Pico *ryuen* : *heuen* 70; GF. *reaun* : *heau'n* 153.

A XXVI, 272 *shryue* ppl. : *lyue* inf. : *eue* sb.

Sk. I, 46 *wrete* ppl. : *swete* : *concrete* (Latin word), but *wryt* ppl. : *wyt* sb. 290.

Barc. II, 263 *wete* inf. : *swete*; Sp. *weet* : *feet* : *meet* ii. iii, 11; Stirling (Alexander) *weet* inf. : *meet* : *feet* in Works (1870) III, 364.

The forms of *drive* may possibly have been influenced by the analogy of *give*, those of *rive* by *reave*. For the latter, see the NED. The interpretation of the rime *shryue* : *lyue* : *eue* : is however certain. The spellings *shryue* and *lyue* do not prove anything as to pronunciation. Moser (p. 21) says that in Bale *giue* always rimes with [ē], but with only one exception is spelt *gyve*. A form *leue* was common for the inf. *liue* in the 15th-16th centuries. On the other hand [ī] is impossible in *eue* sb.; so that the rimes in A XXVI can only be with [ē], or they are impure.

The testimony of the phoneticians on this point varies. Hart (p. 70) has *wit* once with [ĭ], but very frequently with [ī]. He spells it *weete* (p. 67), when not using his phonetic spelling. *Written*, which is the only ppl. of these verbs he notices, he gives three times with [ĭ] (pp. 69, 70, 121). Gill always gives the ppls. of these verbs with [ĭ]. About *wit* he says (p. 73). I wit, *scio* : *sed* wjt *vitupero ferè euanuit.* On p. 121 transliterating *weete* in Sheph. Cal. Nov. 183 he has [ĭ], on p. 108 transliterating *unweeting* he has [ī]. Bullokar has [ĭ] in *witingly* (p. 6). There is some difficulty in interpreting Bullokar's spelling of the ppl. of these verbs. He represents [ī] by ý, but on p. 194 he says: "Note alwaies that where any consonant is doubled, the vowell or double vowell going next before, is alway of a short sound : and to this end chiefly (and for helpe in equiuocy) a consonant is doubled, yet sounded as single : as of the verbe, too hýd : hýdd, or hýddn, of : too slýd : slýdd, or slyddn, of : too být : býtt, or býttn". Here it is obvious that he means the vowel

of the ppl. to be short. But in the body of the book, he has *strýkn, býttn, rýzn, rizn, wrýtn, drýun, dryun.* Does Bullokar mean the vowel to be long where he has not doubled the consonant? Ellis (pp. 842, 910) has taken it to be long in *written.* It may be that Bullokar thought it unnecessary to double the consonant, when there were already two consonants after the vowel. That *ý* does not of itself prove length, is shown by its use in forms which Bullokar expressly declares to be short. It must be noted that Bullokar does not use *y* to denote the [ī] into which ME. [ē] had developed. For that he uses é. Ellis gives his *y* the value of the *y* in *happy* when sung, his é the value of *e* in *eve.* It is possible that in the case of *written*, etc. Bullokar wrote *y*, because these words were usually written with *i.* We are certain at any rate that he said [ĭ] in *bitten* and *slidden*, and the spellings *rizn* and *dryun* (without accent) make it certain that he sometimes said [ĭ] in these words too. With so much certain, it would be risky to assume [ī] for the other ppls. It seems to me that he thought that two consonants were already sufficient to denote shortness in the preceding vowel, and so he did not always take the pains to double the consonant directly after the vowel. According to this explanation Ellis was wrong in interpreting the vowel in *written* as long.

There has been come dispute as to how far the development of [ĭ] to [ē] affected the South. Chaucer has the rimes *riden* : *abiden* : *yeden* (Tr. ii, 933). Luick says about this rime: "Offenbar entschlüpfte ihm hier einmal eine in der Umgangssprache bereits vorhandene Lautung (*rēden, abēden*), die er sonst in seiner Dichtung vermied" (Stud. p. 208). Such rimes occur also in various Southern writers of the 15th century; see Dibelius § 49. In the *Reynard* of Cx. Luick found *e* only in the ppl. of *shrive, smite* and *write,* but not in any other verb of this Class, and from this he inferred that these forms were borrowed from some dialect of South Northumbria, and that they were not developed in Caxton's own dialect. (Stud. p. 208). If we take the works of Cx. as a a whole, we find that *e* is frequent in the ppl. of *write,* in the ppl. of *smite* it occurs only in GB. and R., of *shrive* only in R., in the other ppls. it is altogether wanting. Luick's inference raises the question of how far the works which go under the

name of Cx. are really his. R. is much more conservative than any of the others, so much so indeed, that I find it difficult to believe that it is by the same author. Difference of authorship might account for the frequency of these forms in R., as against the other works. It is noticeable that these forms are never found in M., although that is a work of great size and the ppls. are frequent in it. With *wete* it is different. *e* often occurs in the inf. and imperative of this verb in M. Here once more it is to be noticed that *wete*, unlike the ppls., is given by the phoneticians who preserve for us the pronunciation of the 16th century. This agreement of the main body of Caxton's works with the later development in southern English gives some support to Luick's theory that *e* in the ppl. was foreign to Caxton's dialect. *e* cannot be called very frequent in the ppl. of any verb of this class in the 16th century, except perhaps in *drive*, for which there may be another explanation, and *write*. This infrequency again suggests the theory that the forms were borrowed from another dialect. If this development had been proper to the South, the forms in *e* would have much more frequent.

As mentioned above the form *reaven* is to be explained as a confusion of *reave* and *rive*. The forms *wreathen, wrethen* are similarly to be explained as a confusion between the verbs *wreathe* and *writhe*.

§ 4. Another point requiring notice is the occurrence of [ĭ] in the inf. of *drive* (supported by Butler), *strike* and *write* (inferred only from the spelling). In *drive* this may be due to analogy with *give* : *drĭv*, *drāv*, *driven* or *dreven* would exactly resemble *gĭve*, *gāv*, *given* or *geven*. Or it might be explained, as the [ĭ] in *strike* and *write* must be, from the pt. and ppl. with a short vowel. There are plenty of analogies for this. Cf. *let* and *dread* with shortening from the pt. and ppl. There were also weak verbs like *quite*, which had inf. *quite* or *quit*, and the pt. and ppl. *quit*. (In Scotch *quite* became a strong verb of Cl. I, see NED.). *Keep* has an inf. *kep* from pt. in certain modern dialects, see Wright EDD. s. v. *Keep*, and NED. s. v. *Kep*. In modern dialects [ĭ] is to be found in the inf. of *drive, flite, glide, shit, slit* (pt. and ppl.

still often strong), *strike* (most frequent), *write*. See Wright, EDD. and EDG. § 145.

§ 5. Another point requiring discussion is the quantity of the *o* in the pt. Certain verbs show frequent spellings without a final *e* or with a double consonant. In one case (Shaks. Ham. i. i, 63) *smot* occurs in all three editions (Qo. 1 and 2, Fo. 1). This does not of itself prove shortness, but it is remarkable. There are however some rimes with [ŏ]. In Tott. B. l. 1573 *abod* rimes with *god*, for *smote* we have:

Rastell 4 Elem. l. 405 *smot* pt. : *pott.*

Sp. iii. ii, 46 *smott* ppl. : *gott, nott, lott*; v. vii, 29 *smot* pt. : *not, forgot, spot.*

Shaks. L. L. L. iv. iii, 28 *smot* ppl. : *not.*

Rastell, however, also rimes *throte* and *not*. Bauermeister (§ 99) says that in Sp. rimes with [ŏ] are characteristic of [ǭ]. Such rimes occur in Shaks. too; see Vietor pp. 70 and 233, and I have frequently come across them in Elizabethan poetry. The phoneticians never give the pt. of these verbs with [ŏ]. On the other hand [ŏ] is very common in modern dialects in those ppls. in *o* which have been taken from the pt., and also in the pt. of *slide*. Analogy which was working very powerfully in the 16th century may have helped to produce it. Daines gives *stole* and *spoke* as short (pp. 25 and 50). There were long and short forms in the pt. of *get* and *tread*, and *smot, smote, abod, abode* would correspond exactly to *got, gote, trod, trode*. Cf. also *wot, wote*. On the whole, seeing how uncertain the rimes and the spelling are, probabilities are against there having been a short [o] in the pt. of these verbs. *Shone* has nowadays [ǭ], but there is only one short rime in our period, and that is a very questionable one. The shortening of *shone* seems to have begun later.

§ 6. In the pt. of these verbs the sg. form completely supplants the pl. form after Cx. I have noticed four instances of a separate pl. form in Cx., *smyten* (R. 86), *smeton* (R. 27), *ryden* (R. 39), *arisen* (*Chron. Eng.* ccxxxix, 264). The last form is taken from the NED. Three of these are from R., which is much more conservative in its forms than any of the works by Cx. which I have investigated. Lkbsch. (1430-1500)

and CeP. (1475-88) have only forms with *o*. Further, the pts. of these verbs frequently have forms with *a*, on the analogy of Cl. IV and V. So in *drive*, *ride* (peculiar to Sp.), *rive*, *bestride*, *strike*, *strive*, *write*. These forms are found in Cx. for *rive* (peculiar to him), *bestride* (peculiar to him and Sp.), and apart from Cx. in the 15th century only for *write* (common in CeP.). *Straue* was very occasional, *strake* and *wrate* were pretty common in the 16th century; *draue* is the only one which survived much beyond 1600, and that probably on account of its association with *gaue*. Further, *strike* developed a pt. and ppl. *struck* on the analogy of *stuck*. The tendency to restrict the ablaut to two forms, one for the inf., the other for the pt. and ppl., is also strongly marked in these verbs. The vowel of the ppl. is seen in the pt. of (*a*)*bide*, *bite*, *drive*, *glide*, *ride*, (*a*)*rise*, *rive*, *slide*, *slit*, *smite*, (*be*)*stride*, *strike*, *strive*, *thrive*, *write*. *Slit* was from a weak verb, *bit* and *slid* are the only forms which have survived in general use down to the present day, *writ* and *rid* were both very common, the others were more or less occasional. [*Drĭv*] and [*rĭz*] would probably have been more frequent if an unambiguous spelling could have been found for them. The converse — the passing of the pt. vowel into the ppl. — is found in (*a*)*bide*, *drive*, *ride*, (*a*)*rise*, *smite*, *strike*, *strive*, *write*. It is general in *abide*, not uncommon in *strike*, in the others merely occasional. A number of ppls. occur without *-en*, so in (*a*)*bide*, *bite*, *drive*, *ride*, *rise*, *rive* (peculiar to Sp.), *shrive*, *smite*, (*be*)*stride*, *strike*, *thrive*, *twit*, *write*. Finally, some verbs have weak forms, so in *drive* (only in Sp.), *rise*, *rive*, *shine* (often), *slide*, *slive*, *strike*, *strive*, *thrive*, *twit*; *strike* has forms which combine ablaut and a weak ending.

§ 7. BJG. (c. xix) gives the following account of these verbs: "Some verbs in *ite* or *ide*, lose *e*; as

Pr. *bite.*
Past. *bit.*
Par. pa. *bit* or *bitten.*

Likewise, *hide*, *quite*, make *hid*, *quit*. So, *shine*, *strive*, *thrive*, change *i* into *o* in the *time past*; as *shone*, *strove*, *throve*.

And as *i* severally frameth either *e* or *o*; so may it jointly have them both.

Pr. *rìse.*
Past. *rís, rìse,* or *rose.*
Par. pa. *rís, rìse,* or *risen.*

To this kind pertain, *smíte, wríte, bíde, ríde, clímb, dríve, chíde, slíde*; which make *smìt, wrìt, bìd, rìd, clìmb, drìve, chìd, strìd, slìd*; or *smòte, wròte, bòde, ròde, clòmb, dròve, chòd, stròd, slòd.*"

§ 8. **Abide.** For the pt. NED. gives *abid(d)* from Holland's translations, so Spenser's rime-form *abid* receives some support. For the rime *abod* : *god* in Tott. B., see § 5. In the ppl. the forms *abidden, abid* were still used in the 17th century. Nares quotes *abidden* from Holland's *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1607). *Abyde* had already occurred in Pecock (p. 387); NED. gives *abid* from Babington's *Works* III, 121 (1622). It appears from the NED. that forms in *o* were not infrequent towards the end of our period. *Aboden* is given from Elyot's *Governour* from p. 137 of ed. 1580. The first edition was published in 1531. *Abode* in AuV. (2. Sam. i, 1) is supported by *abode* in Surfleet and Markham and *aboad* in Drayton's *Agincourt. Aboded* is given in the form-list of the NED. without quotation; as *aboden* is quoted without being in the formlist, *aboded* may be a misprint for *aboden. Abide* is the only verb of Class I in which AuV. has the *o* of the pt. in the ppl. The comparative frequency of the ppl. forms in *o* is accounted for, when we remember that the word was not very common, and that *abid* in the pt. was rare, so that when people had to use the ppl., it seemed natural to say *abode(n)*, which corresponded to the pt. *abode*, just as *broke(n), spoke(n)* did to *broke, spoke.*

Inf. *Abide, abyde* usual; also Cx. *abyd* R. 93, usual *abyde*; Ellis *abyddinge* ii. II, 155 (bad speller); BernH. *abyd* 102 (3), *abyde* usual; Lei. Corr. *abid* 217, 324, *abide* 434 (Q. Eliz.). **Pt.** *Abode* usual, so Cx., Lkbsch., Ellis, BernH., Cov., Hoby, Gasc., AuV., Heyw., etc.; Tott. B. *abod* : *god* 1573; Sp. *abid* : *slid, did, bid,* iii. iv, 32; *abode* ii. ii, 20; iii. xii, 37. **Ppl.** Cx. *abyden* GB. 84 (6), Or. Sap. *abedene* 327; Ellis A *abyden, abiden* i. I, 237 (3); Sk. *abyden* : *ryden* I, 244; Barc. *abyde* I, 284; Fisher *abyden* 221. 270; Ellis B *abidden* ii. II, 192; BernH. *abyden* 201, 349; Hoby *abidde* 105; PPP. *abidden* III, 16; AuV. *abode* 2. Sam. i, 1.

§ 9. **Arise,** see under *Rise.*

§ 10. **Bide.** I do not attach any importance to the form *bed* (Ellis iii. I, 129) in the inf.; the writer of the letter is the worst speller even in English, that I have ever come across. The forms *bid* for the pt., and *bidden, bid* for the ppl. coincided with occasional forms of *bid* "to order". This may account for the comparative rarity of the word, as the use of these forms must have led to confusion. Queen Elizabeth uses *bid* as a ppl. in both meanings in the same sentence, see the quotation from Ellis below. Such sentences were a warning rather than an example to others, and people seemed to have preferred some less ambiguous word than *bide.*

Inf. *Byde, bide* are the usual forms; Ellis A *bed* iii. I, 129; Ellis B *byd* iii. II, 308 (Boorde). **Pt.** Cx. *bode* B. 180, M. dd viij; Tott. *bode* : *glode* 116; Machyn *byd* 5; Gasc. *bode* I, 87, II, 236; Sp. *bode* : *abrode* v. xi, 60, vi. xi, 40, *boad* : *abroad* MHT. 400; Eliz. Eng. *bid* 123; Shaks. *bid* R. 3, ii. iv, 304; mod. dial. *bad, bēd, bōd* Sc. Cum. Yks., *baid, bid* Nhb. Sus. Wil. w. Som., *bided* Sc. Wm. Yks. Glo. Dev. **Ppl.** Cx. *byden* R. 67; Barc. *byddyn* I, 59, *byd* I, 229, II, 54; Ellis A *bydden* ii. II, 48; Cov. *bydden* Acts xxvii.; Ellis C *bid* i. III, 23 (Q. Eliz. in sentence: "*yf I had bid ought I owld have bid by yt*"); Lei. Corr. *bydden* 199 (Burghley), *bidden* 432; mod. dial. *bedn, bidn* Abd. Nhb. Cum. Wm. m. and w. Yks., *bodn* Nhb. Yks.

BJG., see § 7.

§ 11. **Belifan.** *Bleef* (Cx. *bleef* R. 15) is explained by Römstedt (p. 43) as showing the influence of the Reduplicating Verbs.

§ 12. **Bestride,** see under *Stride.*

§ 13. **Bite.** Pt. *bate* is peculiar to Sp. in southern English; it is given by NED. as Scotch, where of course it is the normal form. The latest example of pt. *bote* in NED. is of the date 1557; *bit* is not given for the sg. till the 17th century.

Pt. *bote* Cx. R. 32 (o.), *boot(e)* R. 55, M. e. iij; Cov. *bote* Nu. XXI, 6; Machyn *bytt* 78; Gasc. *bitte, byt(te)* I, 141 (3);

LyE. *bitte* I, 279; LyP. *bit* III, 157; Sp. *bit(t)* it, requit pt., smit v. ii, 18 (9), *bate* plate, floodgate ii. v, 7; AuV. *bit* Nu. XXI, 6, Am. V. 19; Heyw. *bit* I, 144; mod. dial. *bēt, bōt* Sc. Dur. Cum. Wm. Yks. Lan. Linc., *bited* w. Som. **Ppl.** *byt(t)en, bitten* usual, so Cx., Sk., Cov., Gasc., LyE., LyP., Und., Kyd., Shaks., AuV.; Barc. *byt : wyt, it* II, 288; Nashe *bit* ppl. UT. K 2 b, *bitten* ppl. PP. B 2, adj. UT. C 1, *frost bitten* G 4 b; BJ. *bit* A. ii. iv (2), *flea-bitten* BF. iv. iv; Chapman *bitten* adj. II, 241, *frost-bit* ppl. II, 256; mod. dial. *bit* I. Ma. Shr., *bōt* Lanc., *bited* n. w. Lin. w. Som.

Gill (p. 59) has: J bjt *mordeo,* J bit *mordebam,* I häv bitn *momordi.* BJG., see § 7.

§ 14. **Chide.** This comes from the OE. weak verb *cīdan,* with pt. *cīdde* and ppl. *cīded, cidd, cid,* which became in ME. *chidd.* By analogy with verbs like *ride* which could also have a ppl. *rid,* the forms *chode, chidden* were developed in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Pt. Cx. *chyde* M. m. vj; Cov. *chode* Acts xi.; Gasc. *chidd* II, 292; Shaks. *chid* Lucr. 1528; AuV. *chode* Gen. xxxi, 36, Nu. XX, 3. **Ppl.** Palsgr. *chyd* 483; Roister Doister *chid, chyd* (Arb.) 33, 34; Shaks. *chid* Err. iv. i, 50 (9), *chidden* Gent. ii. i, 12 (4, always before a sb.). BJG., see § 7. Not in Gill.

§ 15. **Drive.** Butler (p. 49) gives alternate forms of the inf. with [ī] and [ĭ]. The latter might be explained from association with *give,* which *drive* resembles in some of its forms, or as formed on the pt. and ppl. [*drĭv*]. For analogies, see § 4. Butler, however, does not give [ĭ] for the pt., though he gives corresponding forms for other verbs of this class. [*drĭv*] occurs as inf. in the modern dialects of Kent and Surrey; see Wright, EDD. *Dreve* occurs twice as inf. in Ellis (i. I, 212, ii. I, 290), both times in a letter from More. This form is rather difficult to explain. It is scarcely likely to be from OE. *drēfan.* See NED. s. v. *dreve.* This was rare even in ME. The latest quotation in a direct sense in the NED. is from Harding's Chronicle (c. 1470), and a quotation in a metaphorical sense is given from Tusser. It seems doubtful if the latter quotation really belongs to *dreve.* It is only remotely connected in sense with the ME. word, and

as it occurs in rime with *geue*, it may still have been pronounced with [ĭ]. Spelling is no guide in these cases. Cf. the remark about *give* in § 3 above. With regard to More's form, it is noticeable that More is a regular speller and does not use *e* in the inf. of other verbs of this class. The *e* in *dreve* may be on the analogy of *geve*, which More does spell with *e*. Or it may be one of those numerous spellings of *e* for *i* discussed above, see § 3, though this is not likely, as instances of *e* for [ī] are as rare as they are common for [ĭ]. NED. cites an inf. *drieue* fron 1553 Eden *Treate New. Ind.* (Arber) 13, which may point to [ī] arising from ME. [ē]. Cf. *gieue* for *giue*, *geue*. In the pt. the most usual form was *droue*. *Draue* (on the analogy of Cl. IV and V) is pretty common from Palsgrave onwards. I have only found it twice in MSS., in a letter from Cromwell (Ellis ii. II, 127) and in one from Mead, a Cambridge don (ib. i. III, 206). Its rareness in the MSS., coupled with the fact that a stylist like Underdowne uses it eight times and nothing else, suggests that it was a literary form and not popular or colloquial. On the other hand it survived longer than the other pts. in *a* of this class, possibly because the conjugation *dreue* or *driue*, *draue*, *dreuen* or *driuen* corresponded so closely to the conjugation *geue* or *giue*, *gaue*, *geuen* or *giuen*. In modern dialects it occurs only in the North, where of course it is the usual descendant of OE. *a*. A third form *driue* (from the ppl.) is to be found in Hall once, Sp. five times for the short rime, GH., Sm. (who has ppl. *driue* on the next page), and as a variant reading in Shakespeare. It is not in the NED. for the 16-17th centuries. BJG. and Gill give it as an alternative to *droue*. It would probably have been more frequent but for the difficulty of representing its pronunciation properly in writing. *Driu* was impossible, and *driue* was already appropriated to the inf. with a long vowel. *Drif*, *driv* occur in the modern dialects, see the lists. Weak forms of the pt. are already to be found in the later text of Wyclif. They are rare in our period. I have only found *driv'd* in Sp., where it is used for the sake of the rime. NED. gives *drived* from Campion's Hist. Irel. (1571) and from Bp. Mountagu's Gagg (1624). *Drived* is the pt. in the modern dialect of Devon. In the ppl. forms with *e* are very frequent till about 1540,

after which they occur only in Scotch writers, and to serve the exigencies of rime. The *o* of the pt. had already entered the ppl. in the 15th century on the analogy of Cl. IV and V, and especially of *giue*, ppl. *gouen*. NED. quotes for *droue* 14. Amis and Amil., 1607 Topsell, 1781 Gibbon, 1789 Nelson. It occurs also in Shaks. (H6B. iii. ii, 84) and Butler (p. 49), and in a number of modern dialects. *Drouen* is quoted by the NED. from North's translation of Gueuara (1579) and Topsell (1607). I have also found it in Gasc. four times (once riming with *strouen*), Gasc. has *driuen* ten times. It occurs once in Shaks. With a short *o* it occurs in a number of modern dialects, see the lists. From the form *ydryue* there had already been developed a form *dryue* in the 13th century. I have found it in the *Castell of Perseuerance* (*dreue* : *schreue* : *lyue* sb. ll. 405-7), in Sp. (*driue* : *giue* : *liue* vii. vi, 50), in Markham's *Poem on Sir R. Grinuile* (Arber, p. 80), in Sm. p. 604. On the page before *driue* had occurred as a pt. *Driuen* occurs eleven times im Sm. NED. gives *dryff*, *dreff* from Torkington (1517), but has no instances of *driue* in ppl. later than this. *Driue* does not survive in the dialects. *Driued* is given by the NED. from Lord Berners Froissart (I, 658), *driuen* is the form he usually has. Of all these forms *driuen* is by far the most important. How little standing the others had, is shown by the fact that neither Gill nor BJ. mention them.

Inf. *dryue*, *driue* usual: A XXVI *ouerdryff* 158; Ellis A *dreve* i. I, 212, ii. I, 290 (More). **Pt.** Cx. *drof(e)*, *droef*, *droof* GB. 48. 247 (12); Ellis A *drove* i. I, 233 (Surrey); Palsgr. *draue* 529, 530; Ellis B *draue* ii. II, 127 (Cromwell); BernH. *draue* 156 (o.); Cov. *draue* Acts xxvii, *droue* Gen. xv, 11 (o.); Wyatt *draue* XVIII, 496; Tott. *draue* 63, 217, B. 1184; Hall *draue* 24 b (6), *droue* 23 b, *dryue* 262; Ascham *draue* 47 (5); Hoby *droue* 198 (3); Gasc. *droue* I, 482; Und. *drave* 69 (8); Sp. *droue* : *stroue* pt. : *cloue* pt. ii. ii, 3; *draue* : *graue*, *craue* i. ix, 33 (5); *driue* : *giue*, *liue* i. ix, 38 (5); *driu'd* : *depriu'd*, *arriu'd*, *riu'd* ii. vii, 40; Ellis D *drave* i. III, 206 (Mead); Shaks. *draue* Rom. and Jul. i. i, 118 (Q. 1599 *driue*) (4); *droue* Wiv. v. v, 131 (7); AuV. *draue* Ex. xiv, 25 (13), *droue* Gen. iii, 24 (9); Heyw. *droue* I, 86, III, 353, *draue* I, 100; Sm. *draue* 19, 584, *droue* 901, *driue* 603; GH. *driue* 62; Cocks *drove* 209 (4); mod.

dial. *drēv, druv* Sc. Dur. Cum. Wm. Yks., *drif, driv* s. Not. s. w. Lin. e. Cy., *drived* Dev., *dreft* Ess., *droved* w. Som. **Ppl.** *dryuen, driuen* usual; so Cx., Barc., Cov., Wyatt, Tott., Ascham, Kyd, AuV., Cocks; CeP. *drewen, -vyn* 88 (3); Ellis *dreven, -in, dreerffen* iii. I, 363 (Abp. Warham), ii. III, 19 (Jas. I) (4); BernH. *dryuen, -yn* 100 (o.), *dreuen, -yn* 452 (7); Heywood Spider & Flie *dreuen* : *euen* 129, 212, *dreeuene* 376, 441, *dreuine* : *geuine* 455, *dryuen* : *gyuen* 194; Hoby *drieven* 67. 93, *driven* 198 (o.); PPP. *drieuen* II, 109, *driuen* 248 (o.); Gasc. *driuen* I, 78 (10), *drouen* : *strouen* I, 87 (4); LyP. *driven* : *Heaven* III, 154 (9); Sp. *driven* ii. vii, 5, x, 8, *driue* : *giue, liue* vii. vi, 50; Shaks. *driuen* Ven. 692 (o.), *drouen* Ant. iv. vii, 5, *droue* 2H6 iii. ii, 84; Heyw. *driuen* : *given* VI, 159, *even* 104 (o.); Sm. *driuen* 226 (11), *driue* 604; mod. dial. *drovn, druvn* Nhb. Cum. Wm. Yks. e. Lan. s. Chs. Shr.; *drov, druv* n. Ir. Dev. n. Lin. Lei. Nhp. War. Shr. Glo. Brks. s. Cy.; *dreft* Ess.; *droved* w. Som. Dev.

Gill (p. 60) gives I drjv, I driv, I häv drivn, *impello, primæ* [*conjugationis*]; *et* I drjv, I drövv, *aut* I dräv, I häv, drivn, *secūdæ* [*conjugationis*]. BJG., see § 7.

§ 16. **Flite.** NED. quotes occasional forms for inf. and pres. from southern writers of the 16th century, the pt. and ppl., however, have only been found in northern dialects.

§ 17. **Glide.** NED. quotes pt. *glid* from Chapman's Odyssey xii, 585, Iliad xxiii, 655. *Glided* is given as ppl. from the 17th century.

Pt. Surrey *glide* Æneid ii, 285; Tott. *glode* : *bode* 116; Respublica *glided* (E. E. T. S.) l. 1295; Sp. *glode* : *abrode, rode, lode* iv. iv, 23; Shaks. *glyded* 2H6 iii. ii, 260; mod. dial. *gleəd* w. Yks.; ppl. *glidn* w. Yks.

§ 18. **Gripe.** Römstedt explains *grepe* as showing the influence of the Reduplicating Verbs (p. 43).

Pt. Cx. *grepe* R. 111; mod. dial. *grip, grēp, grōp* Sc. Nhb. nē. & m. Yks. e. Lan., *grapt* Nhb.

§ 19. **Ride.** In the inf. the spelling *reyde* in CeP. is taken by Süssbier to indicate along with other spellings like *feynd* v., *leyke, deseyer* that the diphthongization of [ī] into

[ē^{i}] had already begun (p. 42). In the pt. Cx. once has the the plural form *ryden* (R. 39). *Rydde* in the sg. occurs once in Cx. (B. 83), Machyn is the first writer to use it at all frequently; and it is not common in literature till towards the end of the century. It is not in Shaks. or in the AuV. In certain late writers, *e. g.* Heywood, it is more frequent than *rode*, though not so generally. That it was never so common as *writ* or *bit* was probably due to a wish to keep it distinct from *rid* meaning "*he got rid of*". *Rid* is very common in dialect, see the lists. *Rad* occurs once in Sp. for the sake of the rime with *had, bestrad. Roade* also occurs, riming with *glade*, it is probably a misprint for *rade*. Neither *rad* nor *rade* is in the NED. *Red* (in Machyn) is given by NED. for the 15-16th centuries, and for the 19th. It is very common in dialect. NED. also gives a weak pt. *rydyde* for the 16th century, but without quotation. In the ppl. *rede* occurs in CeP. After that *ryd* comes in Machyn twice, and then not again till Marlowe, after which it is fairly common. It would probably have been more common, if it had not been liable to confusion with the ppl. of *rid*. It appears to be more frequent in modern dialects than *ridden*, see the lists. The form *rode* (from the pt.) in Lyly, Marlowe and Shaks., is also frequent in dialect.

Inf. *ryde, ride* usual; CeP. *reyde* 79; Ellis A *ryd* ii. I, 215 (2); Machyn *ryd* 16. 31 (6), *ryde* 295. **Pt.** Cx. *rode* B. 18 (o.), *rood* R. 85 (4), *rod* M. zj, *rydde* B. 83, *ryden* pl. R. 39; Lkbsch. *rode* sg. (1); Ellis A *ro(o)de* i. I, 73 (7), ?*ride* i. I, 284 (Sir B. Tuke); A XXVI *rode* 170; Ellis B *rydde* pl. i. II, 37 (Cranmer), *ro(o)de* ii. II, 270 (8); BernH. *rode* 10 (o.), *rod* 402, *ryd* 82; Cov. *rode* 1. Sam. xxv (3); Ascham *rode* 112; Machyn *rod* 5 (v. o.), *rode* 4 (6), *ryd* 139 (8), *red* 83 (4); Gasc. *rode* I, 60 (3); LyP. *thou ridst* III, 213, *rid* III, 215, *rode* III, 368; Marl. *rid, rode*; Dee *rod* 13 (6), *rode* 31 (6), *ryd, rid* 11 (4); Sp. *rode* : *yode* iii. i, 4 (o.), *rid(d)* : *did* vi. iii, 37 (3 times in short rime), *rad* : *had, bestrad* v. ii, 13, *roade* : *baude* iv. I, 31, *glade* vi. ii, 16; Ellis D *rode* i. III, 117 (6, 5 from Mead), *rid* 117 (Mead); Shaks. *rode* R. 2 v. ii, 78 (o.), *rod* Tim. i. ii, 218, *ouer-rod* 2H4 i. i, 30, *out-rod* 2H4 i. i, 36; AuV. *rode* Ge. xxiv, 61 (o.); Heyw. *rid* I, 321 (6), *rode* I, 342, *road* V, 340; BJ. *rid* BF. iv. v (2), *rode* SN. Interm. iii; Sm. *rid* 32 (3), *rode* 338; Cocks *rode, road*

158 (4), *rod* II, 228; mod. dial. *red, rēd, riəd, rid* Sc. Nhb. Dur. Lakel. Yks. Lan. s. Chs. Der. Shr. e. An. Ken. Sur. **Ppl.** *ridden* (*rid-, ryd(d), -en, -in, -yn,* etc.) usual, so Ellis, Sk., BernH., Cov., Hall, Hoby, Gasc., AuV., Sm.; Cx. *riden, ry-* R. 62, 86; CeP. *rede* 30; Machyn *ryd* 218, 245; LyP. *ridden* III, 213, *rode* 214; Marl. *rode, rid*; Sp. *ridden* i. iii, 33 (2), *rid* v. vi, 36 (2); Shaks. *rid* MND. v, 119, *rode* H5 iv. iii, 12 (2), *ridden* Wiv. v. V, 145 (2); Heyw. *rid* I, 56 (10), *ridden, ore-* IV, 224, I, 27; mod. dial. *ridn* w. Yks., *rōd, rod* Sc. Cum. Shr. w. Som. Dev., *red, rid* Sc. Cum. Lan. n. Lin. Shr. Dor. Dev. Not in Gill. For BJG., see § 7. Butler gives *ride, rode, ridden,* with *rid* as pt. and ppl. (p. 49).

§ 20. **Rise, arise.** Forms with the vowel of the ppl. and original pt. pl. are common in the pt. *Aris* occurs in Harvey (p. 6), NED. says it is occasional in the 17th century. NED. gives *rysse, ryse* for the 16th century, *risse* for the 16-17th centuries, *rise* for the 16-18th centuries, *riz(ze), riss, riss', ris, ris'* for the 17th century, and *riss* in the 19th century dialects. The earliest example is *rysse* from the *Chronicle of Grey Friars* (Camden) p. 45. As there is some difficulty about the pronunciation of these forms, it would be better to consider the ppl. at once together with the pt. NED. gives ppl. *rise* from Gower, and from the 16th and 17th centuries, *rys* from the 15th, *risse, rize, rizze* from the 17th, and *ris* from the 17th and 19th centuries. I have found *ryse* in Starkey (p. 130), LyE. I, 216 (v. rr. *rise, risen*), *risse* in BJ. in Prol. to *Poetaster* and in the *Masque of the Fortunate Isles, ris* in GF. riming with *is* (p. 143), *is, his* (p. 233), *is, this* (p. 195). BJG. gives double forms *ris, rise* for both the pt. and ppl., which seems to point to a double pronunciation, one voiced, the other voiceless. Cf. also the poetical forms in the ppl., *rist* and *upryst* with voiceless *s*. Fletcher's rimes support this conclusion, though there are too few of them for their evidence to have much weight. *Is,* although voiced in common speech in the Elizabethan period, rimes, so far as I have noticed, far more often with voiceless consonants than with voiced ones. *This* of course could normally have only a voiceless rime. In dialect forms with voiceless *s* are frequent for both pt. and ppl., especially in the North, see Wright EDD. s. v. A voiceless *s*

is rather difficult to account for. The final *s* in the pt. was originally voiceless, and it looks as if this this voiceless *s* had been transferred to the ppl. and preserved for some reason which it is now hard to discover. Could it have been due to the influence of the sg. imperative, which also originally ended in a voiceless *s*? That a voiceless consonant should be preserved in dialect is very rare, *drive* and *give* are the only other verbs in which this has happened. Other points to notice are the 2nd ps. sg. pt. *thou rose* in Robinson *Handfull of Pleasant Delightes* (Arber) p. 19 and the ppl. *arose* in Shaks. (who has only *risen* however), *rose* in Marlowe, BJ., Markham, GF. and in the modern dialects of Cum Shr. Dev. NED. gives weak forms for the pt. from the 14th century, but none for the ppl. I have found ppl. *rised* in Bullein (so in 1564 ed., 1578 ed. has *risen*), *rist* in Drayton, *upryst* in Sp. The forms in *-t* may be due to a misunderstanding of Chaucer's present form *uprist*. *Rised* is in the dialect of w. Yks.

Arise. **Pt.** Cx. *aroose* R. 22, *aroos* GB. 23, 82, *arrose* GB. 621, *arroos* GB. 88, *arose* E. 97, 159; after Cx. the prevailing form is *arose*, so Lkbsch., Ellis, BernH., Cov., Tott., Gasc., LyE., Kyd, Sp., Shaks., AuV., Heyw.; Harvey *aris* 6; Hawes rimes *arose* woth *close* adj. p. 72. **Ppl.** Palsgr. *aryssen* 437; Shaks. *arose* Err. v. 388.

Gill has *ps.* arjz 135, arjzeth 39, *pt.* aröz. 127. Not in BJG.

Rise. **Pt.** Cx. *roos* B. 82, *rose* B. 12 (4), *roose* GB. 311, R. 106; after that *rose* (also *roase*) is the prevailing form, so in Fisher, Ellis, BernH., Wyatt, Ascham, Gasc., Marl., Sp., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., Sm.; A XXVI rimes *rose* : *close* adj. 24; Fenton *rise* I, 87; Robinson *Handf. Pl. Del. thou rose* : *woes* (Arber) p. 19; mod. dial. *rēz* Yks., *riz* Sc. Irel. Nhb. Cum. Yks. s. Chs. Not. n. Lin. Lei. Nhp. War. Shr. Hnt. e. An. Cor.; *rosed* w. Som. **Ppl.** *Rysen, risen* usual, so Cx., Cov., Wyatt, Ascham, Sp., Shaks. AuV., Heyw., etc.; BernH. *rysyn* 7 (4), *resyn*, *-en* 381 (3); Starkey *ryse* (E. E. T. S.) 130; LyE. *ryse* (v. rr. *rise*, *risen*) I, 216, *rysen* II, 155; Bullein *rised* (so ed. 1564, ed. 1578 *risen*) 112 (E. E. T. S.); Marl. *rose* E. 192; Sp. *risen* ii. viii, 12 (o.), *upryst* SC. Mch. 18; BJ. *risen* EMH. i. iii., *risse* P. Prol., Masqué Fort. Isles (Fo. *riss'*), *rose* : *those* Epigr. cxi; GF. *ris* : *is* 143, *is*, *his* 233, *is*, *this* 195, *rose* 238; Drayton *rist* Polyolb. xxvi, 1176 (Nares); mod. dial. *riz* in Ireland, and in

various dialects throughout England; *rōz* Cum. Shr. Dev.; *rised* w. Yks., *rosed* w. Som.

Not in Gill. BJG., see § 7. Butler has *rise, rose, risen* (p. 49).

§ 21. **Rive.** NED. gives *raue* from Ld. Berners Froissart II, 160. This form, together with *rafe* in Cx., arose on the analogy of Cl. IV and V. [*rēv*] is common in dialect. Daines (p. 34) gives a pt. in [*ĭ*], for which there is no other evidence except that it occurs in the dialects. NED. gives a weak pt. and ppl. *riued* from Fabyan's *Chronicle* (a 1513) onwards. I have found it for the pt. in Sp., and in Cx., Sp. and Shaks. for the ppl. Notice also pt. *yriv'd* in Sp. Sp.'s ppl. *rift(e)* is not in the NED. Another ppl. in Sp., *riue* is given by NED. from Cursor Mundi and Syr Generydes (*reue*). It has survived in dialect, see the lists. There is some difficulty about the ppl. in *e, ea. Reuen* occurs in Hall and Tott., where it rimes with *geuen. Ryven* rimes with *heven* in More's *Pico. Reaun* rimes with *heau'n* once in GF., and in Tourneur twice (II, 213. 217). NED. places these latter forms with *ea* under *reave.* If they belong to *rive* they may simply be eye-rimes. Or there may have been some confusion between *reave* and *rive,* as in *wreathen, writhen* below, § 34. It is suspicious, however, that the only forms with *ea* occur in rime. Cf. also § 3.

Pt. Cx. *Roof(e), rofe* GB. 180 (6), *rafe* M. Mj.; Cov. *roue* 1 Kgs. xiii.; Sp. *ryv'd* : *deryv'd, depryv'd* ii. x, 70 (3), *riv'd* iii. vii, 40; mod. dial. *rēv, riv, rōv, ruv* Sc. Nhb. Dur. Cum. Wm. Yks. Lan. Not. e. An. **Ppl.** Cx. *to ryuen* M. cv, *ryued* M. p viij; Hall *ryuen* 57 b, *reuen* 175 b; More Pico *ryven* : *heven* 70; Tott. *reuen* : *geuen* 204; Sp. *riven* adj. i. ix, 7 (6), *ryven* ppl. v. x, 32; *rive* : *give, drive* pt. v. xi, 5, *rived* iv. iii, 15 (4), *rift(e)* : *swift, lift, clift* i. xi, 54, ii. vii, 2, 3, *yriv'd* iv. vi, 15; Nashe *riuen* UT. M 2 b; Shaks. *riu'd* JC. i. iii, 6, iv. iii, 85; GF. *reaun* : *heau'n* 153; mod. dial. *rovn, ruvn* n. Cy. Yk. n. & e. Lan.; *rēv, rōv. ruv* Sh. I. Frf. Nhb. Dur. Cum. s. Wor.; *riv* s. Not. n. Lin. Nrf.

Not on Gill, BJG. or Butler.

§ 22. **Shine.** The spelling *sheene* in Wyatt for the inf. is a mere miswriting; *seene* occurs in the same line and *grene*

in the next, *sheene* coming through confusion with these forms. The shortening of *o* in the pt. does not appear to have begun in this period. Barc. rimes *shone* with *done* (I, 292), but elsewhere he rimes *done* with *sone* (= *soon*), *none*, *alone*, *gone*, *foregone*. Brugger (p. 327) quotes from the 1614 edition ed. of Lydgate's Hector (p. 145) the rime *shone* : *sun*. In the same book *sonne* (= *die Sonne*) rimes with *noone* (= *Mittag*) p. 34, *alone* p. 292, and *one* p. 308. The last three words nearly always rime long in the 16th century. Brugger thinks shortening had already begun, but the mixed character of the rimes renders them very untrustworthy as evidence. The date of the book is uncertain. Brugger says it shows signs of having been worked over for the 1614 edition, and this makes any argument from it still more doubtful. Weak forms occur already in Trevisa and Chestre (see Bülbring p. 85) and in the later text of Wyclif (see Dibelius § 250). They are common, but not so frequent in my lists as the strong ones. The case of the ppl. is peculiar. The original strong form had died out, I have found no instance of it in our period at all. Its place was taken either by the strong pt. without *-en*, or by the weak form. AuV. avoids using *shone* as a ppl., and uses only *shined*. This agrees with Butler, who gives pt. [*shōn*], but for ppl. only *shined* (p. 49).

Inf. *Shyne*, *shine* usual; Wyatt *sheene* XIX, 199. **Pt.** Cx. *shone* B. 17 (3), *shoon* R. 82; Sk. *shone* : *gone* II, 55; AXXVI. *shon* 164 (5); Barc. *shone* : *done* I, 292; Fisher *shone* 181; BernH. *shone* 65, 651, *shynyd* 683; Cov. *shone* Lk. ii, 9, Ps. lxxvii., *shyned* Ex. xxxiv, 29 (o.); Ascham *shone* 112; Tott. B. *shone* : *one* 173; Gasc. *shone* I, 460; LyP. *shined* II, 407, III, 80; Und. *shone* 225, *shined*, *-yned* 70 (3); Sp. *shone* : *stone*, *mone* i. x, 53, ii. viii, 5, *shined*, *shyned* ii. v, 2 (7); Shaks. *shone* WT. v. i, 95 (4); AuV. *shined* Deu. xxxiii, 2 (4), *shone* Ex. xxxiv, 29 (6); Heyw. *shone* III, 289, IV, 271, *shin'd* III, 386; *shined* 166, *shone* 176 : *throne* 185; GH. *shone* : *alone* 184; mod. dial. *shined* Irel. Nhb. w. Yks. Lan. Shr. **Ppl.** Gasc. *shone* I, 277; Sp. *shynd* : *kynd*, *fynd* iii. vi, 8 (4); Shaks, *shone* MND. v. i, 272; AuV. Ps. l. 2 (3); med. dial. *shined* w. Yks. n. Wil., *shoned* m. Yks.

Gill gives only inf. shjn (pp. 36, 38, 121). BJG., see above § 7.

§ 23. **Shrive.** For the rimes in A XXVI see § 3.

Pt. Cx. *shroef* R. 25, *shrofe* FSA. 458, *shryued* M. Yiij; Ellis A *shroue* i. I, 177 (Tindale). **Ppl.** Cx. *shryuen* R. 25 (7), *shreuen* R. 61; A XXVI *shryue* : *lyue* inf., *eue* sb. 272; Ellis A *shryven*, *shreven* (in same sentence) iii. I, 252 (Bp. Longland), *shereven* iii. II, 148 (Ld. Dorset); Machyn *shryff* 94; PPP. *shriuen* II, 109; Shaks. *shriu'd* R. & J. ii. iv, 194.

Not in Gill or BJG.

§ 24. **Slide.** I have no example of *slode* in the pt. after Cx., although BJ. allows it, and it is still possible in dialect. Butler (p. 48) mentions only *slid*, and he does not put it among the verbs of Class I at all, but with the verbs like *lead, led*, which shows that he knew of no *o* in the pt.

Pt. Cx. *slode* M. biiij; Palsgr. *slydde* 721; Cov. *slyded* 2 Kgs. xxii; Ellis C *slided* ii. III, 116 (Report execution Mary Q. Scots); Fenton *slyded* I, 119; Sp. *slid(d)* iii. iv, 32 (3); Heyw. *slid* : *did* VI, 96; BJ. *slidde* EMH. iv. i; mod. dial. *slēd* Sc. Yks., *slaid* Dur. w. Som., *slod* Hamp. Wil., *slided* Dor. w. Som. **Ppl.** Or. Sap. *sliden* 359; Cov. *slyded* 2 Sam. xxii; Palsgr. *slydden* 721; Ellis B *slydyd* iii. III, 132; AuV. *slidden* Jer. viii, 5; mod. dial. *sledn, slidn* Sc. Nhb. Yks., *slided* w. Som.

Not in Gill. BJG., see § 7.

§ 25. **Slit.** The strong forms are still common in dialect. The word is so rare in the 16th century, that it is scarcely possible to state whether strong forms were obsolete by that time in literary English or not.

Inf. Palsgr. *slytte* 721. 722; Levins *slit* : *sit, spit, fit* 149; Shaks. *slit* Shr. v. i, 134. **Ppl.** Cx. *slytte* M. Iiij; Hall *slit* 134; Sm. *slit* 70, 366; mod. dial. **Pt.** *slat, slēt* Sc. w. Yks., *slitted* Bks. **Ppl.** *slitn* Sc. Nhb. Yks. n. w. Lin., *slotn* Chs., *slitted* Bks.

§ 26. **Smite.** Cx. has pt. pl. *smyten* (R. 86), *smeton* (R. 27). *Smit*, though given in BJG. and Butler (p. 49) is rare in the pt. I have only found it in Machyn and Sp. who uses it only in rime. In Surrey's Æneid iv, 785 *smitte* occurs in the MSS. but Tott. altered it to *smote*. At l. 898 *smote* occurs both in the MSS. and in Tottell. See Fest in *Palaestra* XXXIV, 123. *Smit* in the ppl. occurs from Cx. onwards, it was useful in

poetry for the rime or where one wanted to save a syllable in the metre. Forms with *o* occur in the ppl. in Cx. (*smoton* in GB. 109, ? a misprint) and in Sp. and Shaks. where they are used only for the short rime. See § 5.

Pt. Cx. *smote* B. 64 (v. o.), *smot(te)* E. 136 (8), *smyten* pl. R. 86, *smeton* pl. R. 27; Lkbsch. *smote* sg.; A XXVI *smott* 272; Ellis A *smott* i. I, 103 (bad speller); Fisher *smote* 152; Cov. *smote* Ex. xiv (3); Machyn *smott* 207, *smytt* 259; Gasc. *smote* I, 333; Sp. *smot(t)* i. viii, 24 (4), *smote* ii. iii, 6. v, 7; *smit(t)* : *fit, flit* iv. ix, 29 (7 times, mostly in rime); Shaks. *smot* Ham. i. i, 636 (so both Qos. and Fo.), *smote* Tp. iv, 172, *smoate* Oth. v. ii, 356; AuV. *smote* Jsh. xii, 1 (v. o.), *smotest* Ex. xvii, 5; GF. *smote* : *flote* inf. 172; mod. dial. *smēt, smit* m. Yks. e. An. **Ppl.** Cx. *smyt(t)en* B. 52 (o.), *smyton* M. Cont. xvii. v, *smeton, -en* GB. 19 (6), *smoton* GB. 109, *smyt* FSA. 373, *smyte* M. Siij; A XXVI *smytt* : *witt* inf. 115, *smet* 115; Barc. *smyt* II, 139; Fisher *smyten* 151 (o.); Cov. *smytten* Ex. xxii, 2 (o.); Hall *smytten* 86 b; Tott. B. *smitten* 239, 1293, *smit* 2452; Ascham *smitten* 94; Gasc. *smit* I, 53, *smitten* 388; Sp. *smit* : *wit, fit* iii. i, 34 (6 times, mostly in rime), *smitten* ii. xi, 39 (3), *smott* : *gott* ppl., *nott, lott* iii. ii, 46; Shaks. *smot* Cor. iii. i, 319, *not* LLL. iv. iii, 28, *smit* Tim. ii. i, 23; AuV. *smitten* Isa. liii, 4 (v. o.).

Gill has only inf. *smjt* (pp. 103, 129). BJG., see § 7.

§ 27. **Stride, bestride.** *Bestrade* in Cx. is formed on the analogy of the verbs of Cl. IV and V, cf. *drive, rive, strike,* etc. *Bestrad* in Sp. may be a reminiscence of Cx., or it may have been made up for the rime. Cf. his pt. *rad.* I have not been able to find *strode* after Cx., but it is given in BJG. as an alternative to *strid.* Butler (p. 49) gives only [*strĭd*].

Inf. *stride, be-,* usual; Heyw. *stride* V, 113, *bestride* IV, 29, *ride* 200, VI, 6; *bestrid* IV, 221. **Pt.** Cx. *(be)strode* M. siij (4); *bestrade* M. (from Baldwin); Sp. *bestrad* : *had, rad* pt. v. ii, 13; Shaks. *bestrid* A. & C. v. ii, 82 (5); Heyw. *strid(d)* II, 295, III, 29, *bestrid* : *rid* IV, 220, *bestrid him* : *hid him* VI, 163; mod. dial. *strēd* Sc. Cum. Yks., *strid* Lan. e. An., *strided* Bks. **Ppl.** Gasc. *stridde* I, 73, Shaks. *bestrid* R. 2 v. v, 79; mod. dial. *stridn* Sc. Yks. n. Lin., *strodn, strudn* Cum. Yks. s. Lan., *strided* Bks.

Not in Gill. BJG., see § 7.

§ 28. **Strike.** There are occasional spellings in the inf. with a double consonant which may indicate a short vowel. If such a vowel existed, it might have arisen on the analogy of *stick*, which resembled *strike* in so many of its forms or it might have been a back-formation from the occasional pt. and ppl. [*strĭk*]. Cf. *drive* § 15. [*Strĭk*] is found in some modern Scotch dialects and in west Somerset. See EDG. § 155. Cf. also § 4. In the pt. I have found *stroke*, (*strok*), *strake*, *strak*, *struck*, *strook*, *stryke*, *striked*, *straked*. Of these *stroke*, *strake*, *straked*, *stryked* are in Cx., all in Malory, in R. only *stryked*. It is noticeable that in his other works Cx. prefers *smite*, *cut*, *beat*, *hew*, or *give a stroke* to *strike*. *Stroke* is the normal descendant of OE. *strāc*. I have found it nine times in 400 pages of Malory. It is common throughout the 16th century, but about 1600 it becomes less common and *strook*, *struck* begin to displace it. It is still found in northern dialects, see the lists. *Strake* is formed on the analogy of Cl. IV and V, cf. § 6. I have found it thirteen times in 400 pages of Malory. It is as common as *stroke* down to Spenser's time, after that it is rare. It is used three times in AuV.; the latest example I have found apart from this is in *Women Saints* (E. E. T. S) p. 100. BJG., Gill and Butler (p. 49) give it as an alternative, but how rare it was getting may be gathered from the fact that neither Shaks. nor Heyw., with all their variety of form, have it. It has not come down in dialect, [*ē*] occurring only in the North, where it is the normal descendant of OE. [*ā*]. *Strak* in BernH. (p. 640) may be short on the analogy of *gat*, *gate*, *sat*, *sate* in Cl. V, but it is probably a mere spelling. Cf. §§ 1, 5. The next form to arise is *struck*, the earliest for which I have found in Machyn. Brugger gives the following genealogy for this form, *strǭk* > *strūk* > *strukk* (p. 339). I cannot accept this derivation. I have not found *oo* in the pt. till 1584 (*strook* in Robinson), the ppl. *strooken* first occurs in Gasc. (II, 138); *i. e.*, both appear later than *struck*. An argument from chronology is to some extent a fallacious one, because it is impossible to guarantee that *strook* does not occur earlier than I have found it. But it is safe to say that it cannot have been very common before that date. It seems best to explain *struck* by the analogy of *stuck*. *Strike* and

stick had forms which resembled one another closely, *i. e.*, pt. in [ō] and [ā], ppl. in *-oken*. It is also possible that *strike* had an inf. in [ī]. In the 16th century *dig* also developed a pt. and ppl. in *u*, on the analogy of *stick*. See NED. *Struck* became very common just about the same time as *stuck*, namely towards the end of the 16th century, and what helped *struck* finally to oust the other forms of *strike* was again the influence of *stuck*. Unless one accepts the influence of *stick*, I do not see how it is possible to explain why in *strike* alone of the verbs of Cl. I the [ō] of the pt. should have become [*u*]. *Strook* and *strooken* are due to the analogy of verbs of Cl. VI, like *shake, shook; take, toke, took*. Butler gives [*strŭk*] with both long and short *u*, for the pt. and the ppl. The form with the vowel of the ppl. *strick, stryke* I have only found in Fenton and in Gill, who mentions it twice (pp. 62, 138). It is not in the modern dialects, though *stricked* is given for Wm. and Cor. *Striked* is very common in Caxton's R., but it occurs only once again in Hall (226), where it means *stroked*. *Straked* which occurs once in Malory (x viij) does not properly belong here, but is from the weak verb *strākian*. In the ppl. we have *stricken* (*stryken, -eken*, etc.), *strick* (*stryke*), *stroken, stroke, strooken, strook, strucken, struck, stryked*. Of these Cx. has *stryken* (his usual form), *stryke, stroke* and *stryked* once each. *Stricken* is the most common form down to about 1590, after which it is gradually pushed out by the other forms. It is however the only form which the AuV. has. It is given by Gill and Butler, and it occurs in the modern dialects of w. Yks. Lan. Shr. *Stryke* occurs once in Cx. (E. 144), twice in Barc. (II, 160, 279), after which it does not occur again. *Stroken* is an extension of the vowel of the pt. into the ppl., cf. the converse *broke, broken, spoke, spoken, got, gotten* in Cl. IV and V. It occurs in Ellis twice, in PPP., LyE., and in Sp. *Stroke* is more frequent. It occurs in Malory, PPP., Gasc., LyE., LyP., Shaks. (six times), BJ. and Chapman. *Strooken* occurs in Gasc., Sp., Eliz. & J., Nashe, Shaks. *Strooke* occurs in LyE., Nashe, Ellis (in a letter from Laud), Shaks. (27 times), Heyw. (13 times), BJ. (9 times), Chapman. *Strucken* occurs in Nashe, Shaks. (4 times), GF., Cocks. It is given by Gill. *Strukn, strokn* are very common in dialect, see the lists. *Struck*

occurs in Marlowe, Nashe, Shaks. (19 times), Heyw. (11 times, also *struke* twice), BJ. (3 times), Sm., and in a number of writers after 1600. It is not in the dialects. The prevailing forms then at the end of the period were for both pt. and ppl. *struck* and *strook*. This agrees with Butler (p. 49) who gives [*strūk*] or [*strŭk*] for pt. and ppl., mentioning [*strāk*] and *stricken* as well, however. In the pt. *struck* is the more common form, in the ppl. *struck* is used by more writers than *strook*, but in Shaks., Heyw., BJ. *strook* is more often used.

Inf. *Stryke, strike* usual; Palsgr. *stryke* 739 (v. o.), *strycke* 740; Ellis B *strikke* i. II, 70 (Frenchman); Ellis C *strikke* i. III, 20 (Jas.); Gasc. *stryke, -ike* I, 35 : *like, dike* I, 408. 296 (5), *stryckes* II, 290, *stricke* 319; LyE. *strike, -ing, -eth* I, 294 (8), *stricke, -eth* II, 25 (4); AuV. *stricke* Mk. xiv, 65, *strike* Ps. cx, 5 (11); Heyw. *strike* : *alike* VI, 156 (v. o.), *stricke* V, 98. **Pt.** Cx. *stroke* M. ev (9), *strake* M. f iiij (13), *stryked* R. 38 (6), *straked* M. x viij; A XXVI *strake* 240; Fisher *stroke* 5; Ellis B *stroke* i. II, 210 (Ambassador), *strake* ii. II, 59 (Mason), *strocke* 153 (bad speller); BernH. *strake* 20 (ed. 1601 *strooke*) 35 (v. o.), *strak* 640, *stroke* 33 (16), *strok* 715; Cov. *stroke* Mt. xxvi, 51; Lk. xxii, 64; Wyatt *strake* XVIII, 496; Hall *strake* 19 (12), *strok(e)* 49 b, *striked* = *stroked* 226 b; Tott. *stroke* : *yoke* 195; Tott. B *strake* 234, 1019; Machyn *stroke* 25, *struck* 85 (2); Fenton *stroke* I, 271, II, 82, *strick* II, 277, *stryke* 282; Gasc. *stroke* I, 84 (3), *strake* I, 318 (3); LyE. & P. *stroke* II, 36 (4) so Und.; Robinson *Handfull Pleasant Delights* (Arb.) *struck* 15, *strook* 56; Marl. *struck, stroke, strake*; Sp. *strooke* : *tooke* ii. v, 6 (13 rimes with *oo*); *stroke* : *broke, revoke* ii. viii, 39, *woke* iii. viii, 22; *strake* : *awake, shake* i. v, 12 (7 rimes with *a*); Ellis D *struck* i. III, 270 (Mead); Shaks. *stroke* Lr. ii. iv, 162 (Ff. *strooke*) (4), *strooke* Tp. ii. i, 313 (17), *struck(e)* Mcb. iii. i, 123 (8); AuV. *strake* Acts xxvii, 17 (3), *strooke* 1 Sam. ii, 14 (2), *stroke* Mt. xxvi, 51 (3); Heyw. *strook(e)* VI, 134 (4), *stroke* I, 144 (2), *strok* II, 379, *struck(e)* IV, 107 (4); BJ. *strooke* V. iv. v. (3), Sm. *strooke* 92 (3), *strucke* 316 (6); Cocks *struk* 12, *struck* 130; mod. dial. *strēk, strōk* Sc. Nhb. Dur. Cum. Yks. Lan., *straked* Sc., *stricked* Wm. Cor., *strookt* Cum. w. Som. **Ppl.** *Stricken* (with the usual variants in *y* and with or without *c*) only form in Ellis A, Fisher, A XII, Cov., Tott.,

Hall, Machyn, Hoby, Fenton, Ellis C, Lei. Corr. AuV.; Cx. *stryken* B. 86 (4), *stryke* E. 144, *stroke* M. dj, *stryked* R. 74; Barc. *stryken, -yn* I, 297 (3), *stryke* II, 160. 279; Ellis B *stryken* i. II, 99 (Ld. Russell), *stroken* 213, ii. II, 153; BernH. *strykyn, -en*, etc. 33 (v. o.), *streken* 382, 615; Surrey *streken* (v. r. *stryken*) 306; PPP. *stri(c)ken* I, 293 (4), *stroke* III, 113, *stroken* III, 352; Gasc. *stri(c)ken* I, 44, *stryken* (4), *strooken* II, 138, *stroke* I, 405; LyE. *stri(c)ken* I, 284 (13), *stroken* I, 292 (3), *stroke* II, 104, *strooke* I, 204; LyP. *stri(c)ken* III, 398 (5), *stroke* III, 210; Eliz. & J. *strooken* 136; Und. *stri(c)ken* 11 (7), *stroken* 249; Marl. *struck*, *stricken*; Sp. *stri(c)ken* i. v, 7 (3), *stroken* vi. ii, 7, *strook* iii. vii, 3; Nashe *striken* UT. A 4 & b, *strooken* PP. D 2 (3), *strooke* CT. Z 2, *strucken* SLW. E 1, *strucke* UT. C 3, *stroke* UT. G 1; Ellis D *strooke* ii. III, 241 (Laud); Shaks. *struck* (v. r. *strook(e)* 3 times) WT. i. ii, 358 (19), *stroke* (v. r. *strooke*) Wiv. v. v, 1 (6), *strook(e)* (v. rr. *struck* 3 times, *stroke* once) Tp. v, 25 (27), *strucken* (v. r. *stricken*, *strooken*, *struck*) Err. i. ii, 45 (4), *strooken* (v. r. *strucken*) LLL. iv. iii, 224 (3); *stricken* R 2, v. i, 25 (Qq *throwne*), JC. ii. i, 192; Heyw. *struck(e)* I, 101 (11), *strooke* I, 116 (10), *thunderstrooke* : *brooke* VI, 121 (3), *stroke* II, 98, 131, *struke* III, 321, *thunderstruke* III, 413; BJ. *stri(c)ken* E. ii. v, BF. iii. i; *strooke* E. i. ii (ed. 1616 *stroke*, 1640 *struck*) (9), *struck(e)* BF. v. vii (3); Sm. *struck(e)* 15. 480; Cocks *strucken* 338; mod. dial. *strikn* w. Yks. Lan. Shr., *strukn*, *strɔkn* Sc. Dwn. n. Cy. Yks. s. Lans. s. Chs. Lei. Shr., *strookt* w. Som. Gill gives (p. 62):

I strjk, I *ferio* { sträk, strik, strök, struk } I häv { strikn, struk, *& per paragogen* strukn. }

BJG. puts *strike* with the verbs of Cl. III, with a pt. in *a* or *o*. The reference to *o* is peculiar, because the verbs of Cl. III (*fling*, *spin*, *drink*, etc. as well as *swim* and *stick*) though spelt with *o*, really had the pronunciation [*ŭ*].

§ 29. **Strive.** This verb was adopted in early ME. from OF. *estriver*. *Strove* is the usual pt., and *straue* is found

in Surrey, Eliz., Eng. and often in Gasc. As Gasc. was a Westmoreland man, it may simply be a dialect form in his works. *Strave* still survives in the northern dialects, see the list. *Striue* is used once by Lyly for the sake of the rime with *liue*. It is given by Daines (p. 34) and it is still used in the dialect of NE. Norfolk. Weak forms are fairly common, and they are allowed by Butler (p. 49). The vowel of the pt. is seen in the ppl. in *strouen* (Gasc.), *stroue* (Shaks. and Heyw.), and [*strōv*] is the ppl. used in the modern dialects of Shropshire, Somersetshire and Devon.

Pt. Cx. *straaf* E. 65 (2), *strof* R. 83, *strofe* M. g viij; Cov. *stroue* 2 Sam. xiv, 6 (10); Surrey *straue* 305; Hoby *stryved* 51, *strived* 259; Fenton *strove* I, 265; Gasc. *straue* : *raue* II, 234 (7), *stroue* I, 125, 318, *striued* I, 136; LyE. *striued* II, 53; LyP. *stroue* III, 80, 344, *striue* : *liue* III, 347; Und. *strived* 18; Eliz. Eng. *straue* 9; Shaks. *striued* Lucr. 52, *striu'de* Per. v. Prol. 16, *stroue* Alls i. iii, 241, Lr. iv. iii, 18; AuV. *stroue* Acts vii, 26 (o.); Heyw. *stroue* : *loue* VI, 349 (4), *striu'd* III, 302; BJ. *stroue* P. v. i; mod. dial. *strēv* Sc. Lakel. Yks., *striv* ne. Nrf., *stroved* w. Som., *strived* Peb. ne. Nrf. w. Som. Cot. **Ppl.** Cov. *stryuen* Gen. xxxii; Gasc. *strouen* I, 87, 229; Shaks. *stroue* H 8, ii. iv, 30; AuV. *striued* Rom. xv, 20, *striuen* Jer. l, 24; Heyw. *stroue* III, 335, VI, 69; mod. dial. *strivn* w. Yks., *struvn* Cum. Yks., *əstrivd* w. Som., *strōv* Shr. Som. Dev., *striv* Dwn.

Not in Gill. BJG., see above § 7.

§ 30. **Thrive.** This verb was adopted from ON. *þrīfa* in early ME. I have only been able to find weak forms, except for the ppl. *thrive* in Sp. BJG. gives a strong pt. and ppl. (see § 7), so does Butler (p. 49). Daines (p. 54) gives a pt. in [ĭ]. Butler allows the weak forms also.

Pt. Sp. *thryv'd* iii. iv, 44; Shaks. *thriued* : *wiued* Per. v. ii, 9; mod. dial. *þrēv* Sc. Cum. Yks. **Ppl.** Sp. *thrive* : *belive* (adv. = *quickly*) SC. Sept. 226; Shaks. *thriued* A. & C. i. iii, 59; mod. dial. *þrovn*, *þruvn* Yks. Shr., *þruv* Lan. Not. Lei. War. Ken., *thrived* Dor.

Not in Gill. BJG., see § 7.

§ 31. **Twit.** This was in OE. *ætwītan.*

Inf. Palsgr. *twhyte* 764. **Pt.** Nashe *twitted* Str. N. H 1.
Ppl. A XXVI *twyte* 159; Shaks. *twit* 2 H 6, iii. i, 178.
Not in Gill or BJG.

§ 32. **Wit.** The *i* in the OE. forms of this verb was short. It is quite normal that this [ĭ] in an open syllable should remain short. But certain forms with a long vowel appear in Elizabethan times, see § 3 above. Luick in HA. CII, 54-6 (see also Anglia XX, 337) suggests the rule that the vowel *i* in the first syllable of a three syllable word tended to remain short, or to become short if already long even when the syllable was open. Further, that if in a verb the three-syllabled and one-syllabled forms with a short vowel were more frequent than the two-syllabled forms with a long vowel, then the more frequent short vowel would tend to displace the long vowel. He adds: "Bei *wĭtan* ist zu beachten, dass die zweisilbigen Formen geringer in Zahl waren als sonst, da der Singular Präsentis ja *wāt* lautet, während umgekehrt die dreisilbigen Formen besonders häufig gewesen zu sein scheinen; (man beachte die häufige Phrase *to wit* aus *to witanne*)". *Wit* is very frequently spelt with *e* in the 16th century, but it would be dangerous to draw conclusions from that as to the pronunciation. Surrey, *e. g.*, once rimes *weet* with *commytt* (328). Sp. rimes *weet* with *feet* and *meet*, but in his prose has only *wit* (Boehm, p. 53). Sp. also has inf. *weeten.*

The inf. form *wot* in Marlowe, Gasc. and Sp., and the pr. ppl. *wotting* in Shaks. are new formations from the pres. indicative. *What* (CeP. p. 89) is explained by Süssbier (p. 33) as being really written for *wete*, and he thinks that the spelling with *a* is evidence that ME. [ā] had already become [ē]. He gives no other examples of *a* being written for [ē], although there are instances of the converse, of *e* for [ā]. *Ledyn* occurs for *laden* ppl., *heve* for *have*, *seke* for *sacke*, etc. See Süssbier, p. 24. It seems to me better, however, to suppose that *what* stands for *wot.* In the first place we do sometimes find *a* for *o* in CeP., Süssbier gives instances of *Tamas* for *Thomas*, *hagyshed* for *hogshaed.* *Wallde* for *wolde* may go back to OE. *walde* (see Süssbier, p. 36), but that

wallde, wollde existed side by side, made it casier to write *wa-* for *wo-* in other cases. We also find *o* written for *a, wos, whos* for *was, whor for war,* and *borell, fordell, whord, os* by the syde of *barell, fardell whard, as.* (Süssbier, p. 24). These considerations make it much more likely that *what* stood for *wot* than for *wete.*

In the pres. ind. the rime *wot* : *boat* in Shaks. may indicate that *wot* was still pronounced long occasionally, it may however only be another instance of those rimes between long and short vowels discussed in § 5. *Wote* rimes twice with *grote* in a play *All for Money* ll, 626, 875; see *Shakespeare Jbch.* XV, pp. 161, 168. The spelling *nolte* mentioned below lends some support to the theory of a long vowel. On the other hand *wote* rimes once long and once short in Sk., and a number of times short in Tott. In the *Passionate Pilgrim* (xviii, 254) *wot* rimes with *forgot.* The authorship of this piece is uncertain.

Iwis, given by Butler has nothing to do with this word; it comes from OE. *gewis.* See NED., s. v.

In the 2nd person sg. *woost* in Cx. is the direct descendant of OE. *wāst*; *wetest* (peculiar to Cx.), *wotest* are new formations from other persons of the present. Notice *wottes, wots* without a final *t.*

In the 3rd ps. sg. pres., *wot* is only used in the phrase *God wot.* Schmidt says in his Shakespeare Lexicon that *wot* here is subjunctive. But it need not be subjunctive here any more than in Mod. E. *God knows, The Lord knows* or modern German *Gott weiss.* It only provides an instance of how a form survives embedded in a phrase, when it has long been obsolete in common speech. In ordinary language *wots* or *wotteth* was used. Ascham once has *or a man wite* (p. 102). The form may be subjunctive from OE. *wite.* Fisher seems to make a distintion between *woteth* indicative and *wote* subjunctive. The passages are (both on p. 253): "he is sore abashed that in a maner he woteth not what to saye". "No meruayle it is yf than the sely soule be sore abasshed and wote not what to saye".

Not, note (for *ne wot(e)*; cf. also ME. *nete, nist, niten, nost, nute(n)* in NED.) became obsolete in prose about 1500,

they occur in the 16th century only in poetry. See NED. s. v. Spenser's use of the contracted form *note* to mean *could not* is imitated by later archaizing poets like Quarles and Henry More, see NED. Fairfax once has the form *nolte* in his Tasso xviii. l.

For the plural ind. pres. (all persons) OE. had *witon*. Cx. has *wete* fairly often, sometimes *wote* from 1, 3 ps. sg. *Wot(e)* is the usual form after Cx., once LyE. has *wist* from the pt. for the third person. The second person is much more often used than the other persons of the plural.

The pt. is generally *wist*. Cx. has *wote* six times, *wott* occurs in AXXVI, 165. Lkbsch. has *wost* and *wist*, the former being a mixture of *wot* and *wist*. Note the form *thou wist* in Wyatt (XIX, 181), Gill and Butler (p. 50). The pt. ppl. was very frequent in Elizabethan times in the phrase *had I wist*, especially in the proverb, *Beware of had I wist*. See NED., s. v.

The imperative in OE. was *wite*. This (with the usual variants) is Caxton's form; it is also found in Or. Sap. and Hoby. AXXVI has *wyste* from the pt., Gasc. *wote* in the sg., LyP. *wot* in the plural, supplied from the usual form of the pres.

Inf. & Pres. Ppl. Cx. *wete* R. 5 (o.), *wite*, *wyte* E. 132 (5); *wytte* GB. 1, *vnwetyng* GB. 50; Lkbsch. *wete* (5); CeP. *whete* 71, *wete* 39, *whett* 6, *wet(te)* 65, 40, 150, *wyte* 18 (o.), *wytt* 98, *witte* 125, *what* 89; Ellis A *witt* i. I, 100, *vyt* 129 (Q. Mary), *wete* ii. I, 265 (Dacre), *wite* i. I, 40 (Hen. VII), iii. I, 213 (Dk. Buckhm.), *wette* 234 (Gresham); Barc. *wcte* : *swete* II, 263 (3); Ellis B *wit* iii. III, 57 (proclam.), *wite* ii. II, 41 (C'tess Rutland), *wete* 89 (Hen. VIII); Cov. *wete* Gen. viii; Surrey *weet* : *commytt* 328; Hall *weete* 74 (6), *wit* 8b, *wittynge* 51b, *vnweting* 84b; Hoby *weete* 159, 228, *weet(t)ynge* 233, *-inge* 253, 282, *wittinge* 105; Ellis C *witt* iii. IV, 45, 47 (state doct.); Gasc. *witte* I, 91, *wot* I, 149; Marl. *wot* E. 211; Sp. *weet(e)* : *feet*, *meet* ii. iii, 11 (4), *weeten* v. x, 1 (4), *weeting* ii. ix, 39, *wot* : *Chamelot* iv. xi, 45, *witt* SI. 637 (5); Ellis D *wit* i. III, 264 (Mead); Shaks. *wit* : *writ* Per. iv. iv, 31 (4), *weete* A&C. i. i, 39, *wotting* WT. iii. ii, 77; AuV. *wit* Gen. xxiv, 21 (20); Heyw. *vnwitting* I, 139, *was not witting* II, 54. **1st pers. sg. Pres.** Cx. *wote* GB. 225 (o.), *wot* B. 55, 75; Sk. *wot* Scarioth II, 7; Ellis A *wote* iii. I, 149

(admiral); Barc. *wot* II, 75, 129; Ellis B *wote* i. I, 118 (Sir T. Elyot); BernH. *wote* 262, 680; Wyatt *wot* XVIII, 459; Tott. *wot* : *spot* 200; Gasc. *wot* I, 97, 249, *wote* I, 136, 305, *not(t)* II, 271, I, 134; LyE. *wotte* I, 232; Sp. *wot(t)*, *wotte* : *got*, *blott* ii. iv, 45 (3), *wote* ii. vii, 50 (7), *note* i. xii, 17; Shaks. *wot* : *forgot* R. 2 v. vi, 18, *boat* 1H6, iv. vi, 32 (13), *wote* Tit. ii. i, 48, v. ii, 87; AuV. *wote* Jsh. ii, 5 (4), *wot* Nu. xxii, 6; Heyw. *wot* I, 277, II, 63; Sm. *wot* : *knot* 566. **2nd pers. sg. Pres.** Cx. *wotest* M. Yj, c. iij, *wetest* M. yv, *woost* (Römstedt, without reference); A XXXI *wottes* 323; Ellis B *wots* i. II, 41; Cov. *wotest* Rev. vii; Sp. *wotest* ii. iii, 16, *wot'st* Col. Cl. 833; Shaks. *wot'st* A&C. i. v, 22; Heyw. *wotst* IV, 185 (Lanc. dial.). **3rd pers. sg. Pres.** Cx. *wote* C. e. iij, M. bv; Sk. *God wot* : *abbot* II, 60, *God wote* : *cote*, *flote* 48, *grote* 114; A XXVI *wotteth* 224; Ellis A *wotteth* ii. I, 299 (Sir J. Russell); Barc. *God wot* I, 67 (3), *wote* I, 45; Fisher *woteth* 253, *wote* 253; A XII *wotts*, *wot(t)* 261; Tott. *God wot* : *got* 109 (4 times in rime with *ŏ*), *got wat* : *that* 259, *got wat* : *sat*, *flat* 166; Ascham *or a man wite* 102; Hoby *wotteth* 63, 352, *woteth* 244 (3); Gasc. *God wot(te)* : *lot* I, 79, *forgot* 114 (4), *wotes* II, 327; Harvey *gud whot* 5; LyP. *God wot* III, 365; Sp. *God wote* SI. 617 (3), *wotes* iii. ix, 7, *note n'ote*, *no'te* ii. vii, 39 (= could not) (10), SC. Sept. 110 (= know not); Shaks. *wots* H. 5, iv. i, 299, Tit. ii. i, 86, *God wot* Lucr. 1345, R. 3 ii. iii, 18 (so Fo., Qo. different); Ham. ii. ii, 435 (*by lot, God wot*); AuV. *wotteth* Gen. xxxix, 8. **Plural** (all persons). Cx. *wote* M. Giij, Kv, *wete* M. Giij (o.); Sk. *wot* I, 86, *wote* 132; Fisher *woot* 315; Cov. *wote* Rom. xi, 2; Gasc. *wote* I, 65, *woote* I, 480, *wot(t)* : *not* I, 36 (3); Ellis C *wote* iii. III, 377 (Sir T. Smith); LyE. *wist* II, 181; Shaks. *wot* TG. iv. iv, 30 (8); AuV. *wot* Ex. xxxii, 1 (3), *wote* Gen. xliv, 15, Rom. xi, 2; Heyw. *wot(t)* I, 279 (5); BJ. *wot* V. ii. vi, E. i. i. **Pt.** (all persons and numbers). *Wist(e)*, *wyst(e)* usual; so Sk., Ellis, BernH., Fisher, Barc, Cov., Hall, Nashe, Sp., Shaks., AuV.; Cx. *wyst(e)*, *wist(e)* B. 29 (o.), *wote* GB. 296 (6); Lkbsch. *wist*, *wost*; A XXVI *wott* 165, *wyst* 273; Wyatt *thou wist* sbj. XIX, 181. **Ppl.** Cx. *wyst* M. a. vij; CeP. *west* 113; Sk. *wyst* 3; Gasc. *wist* II, 325; Sp. *unwist* iii. ii, 26 (3); *ywist* : *mist* MHT. 893. **Imperative.** Cx. *wite* E. 159, *wete ye* M. Ziij, *wete thou* Z. iiij (3), *wyt(e)* (Römst.); Or. Sap. *wite* 335; A XXVI *wyste* 260; Hoby *weete* 161; Gasc. *wote* sg. I, 45,

pl. 319; LyP. *wot ye well* III, 253; Sp. *weet(e)* iii. ii, 9 (3), *wote* v. xi, 19.

Gill says (p. 73): "J wot *scio*, ðou wotst, *rarò* hï wots, wï, yï, ðei wot: *Borealibus saepius in vsu est o, in ä, verso. Eodem sensu est* I wit *scio* : *sed* wjt *vitupero ferè euanuit.* I wist *scibam, in alijs personis nil variat* : ðou wist, hï wist, wï, yï, ðei wist : *cætera desunt.* Butler says (p. 50):

	Pres.		Imperfect		Infinitive
I wis	thou	wotst	I		to wit.
or	he		thou		
wot	wee	wot	hee	wist	
	you		wee		
	they		you		
			they		

§ 33. **Write.** Forms with *e* in the inf. may be mere misspellings. See § 3. On the other hand, the spelling *wrett* is repeated by Boorde four or five times in Ellis (iii. II, 304-7). Boorde was a fairly well educated man. It is not likely that he did not know how to spell a simple word like *write*, and it looks as if he had deliberately adopted the spelling, since he repeated it so often. Charles I's *wreat* (Ellis i. III, 96) is probably a misspelling, since the letter was written when he was quite young. *Whrayt* (CeP. 89) is considered by Süssbier (p. 42) to show that the diphthongization of [ī] into [ēⁱ] had already begun.

In the pt. forms with *a* are found now and again on the analogy of Cl. IV and V. They are not in Cx. or Lkbsch., but they are very common in CeP. In no other MSS. do they occur so often. After CeP. *wrate* is common in Sk. both in rime and out of it, once the editor of the 1568 edition changes it to *wrote*. After this it is found in Wyatt, Tott. B, Ellis (from the Ambassador in Scotland — perhaps he simply used the Northern form he heard around him), Lei. Corr. once from Raleigh, once from Leocester), in Puttenham four times (also *wrote* four times), and in Sp. once for the rime. Gill gives it as *Boreale*, and it is not in the other phoneticians, nor is it in any modern southern dialect. It seems therefore to have become obsolete in prose before 1600, though it may have

been used in poetry after that date. The pt. in [i] first occurs in Ellis (iii. II, 179, date 1530), in a letter from an uneducated man. The first example I have found in print is from Hoby, who has *writ(te)* five times and forms in *o* five times. From this time onwards it increases in frequency, till after 1600 it is more common in print than *wrote*. For details, see the lists. It is remarkable that it occurs in Sm. twenty five times, while *wrote* does not occur at all. The fact that *wrote* was so much more frequent in MSS. and *writ* in print, seems to suggest that *writ* was becoming a literary use. It is however in the dialects from Northumberland to Shropshire, while *wrote* is not given in EDG. ? Marsh, J. Wright s.v. write

The most important thing to notice in the ppl. is the development of the form *writ*. It had already occurred in Pecock (*write* p. 25). It is not in Cx., but it is common in CeP. Before 1590 it is rare in MSS. and prose, useful in poetry for the purposes of metre and rime. After 1600 it became the common literary form, while *written* remained the popular form. For instance Shaks. has *written* 30 times, *writ* 64 times, BJ. *written* 8 times, *writ* 13 times, Heyw. *written* common only in volume I, *writ* being very frequent in the later volumes. *Written* is nearly always to be found on title-pages or where the printer speaks in his own person, apart from the author. In Sm., e. g., it is the invariable form on the different title-pages. The vowel of the pt. occurs now and again in the ppl., *wrought* in Ellis iii. III, 328 (but the MSS. exists only in a 17th century copy), *wrotte* in Gasc. (I, 169), *wrote* in Marl. (M. 233), Shaks. (Lr. i. ii, 93), *wrot(t)* nine times in Cocks. [rōt] is in various modern dialects, see the lists. The form *y write* is given by Lkbsch., *ywritt* occurs twice in Sp., *ywreten* in CeP., *y wrytyn* in Ellis (iii. II, 221), *ywritten* in Tott. B, where such forms are rather common, see Hoelper p. 60.

Inf. *wryte, write* usual; *wryght, wright, wrizt* occur in bad spellers, or in poetry, where the rime-word ended in *-ight*. Forms with *-tt* are frequent in the letters of bad spellers and occasional in print. Other forms: CeP. *whrayt* 89, *wrytte* 46, *wryttys* 72; A XII *wrete: endytte* 260; Ellis B *wret* ii. II, 288 (Duchess of Somerset), *wrett, -yng* iii. II, 304-7 (A. Boorde), Ellis D *wreat* i. III, 96 (Chas. I). **Pt.** *Wrote* only form in Cx.,

Lkbsch., Fisher, Barc., BernH., Ascham, AuV.; CeP. *wrote* 87 (5), *wrate* 117 (4), *whrate* 72, *wrat* 90, *whrat* 77; Sk. *wrate* : *curate* 156 (3 times in rime with *-ate*, 4 times out of rime; on p. 411 Marshe changes *wrate* to *wrote* in ed. 1568, on p. 416 he leaves it unchanged); Ellis A *wrote*, also *wroot(t)* i. I, 72 (o.), *wrot*, *wrott(e)* ii. I, 216 (9), *worte* i. I, 124 (Mary of France), *write* iii. II, 179 (agent), *wrait* i. I, 28 (Ld. Bothwell); Ellis B *wrote* ii. III, 301 (o.), *wrot(t)* iii. II, 225 (7 times, 3 in Boorde's letters), *wroght* iii. II, 189, *wrytte* ii. II, 152 (uneducated man); Wyatt *wrate* XIX, 416, 417, *wrote* 417; Hoby *wrote* 76, *wrott* 19 (4), *writ*, *writt(e)* 238 (5); Ellis C *wrote* i. III, 12 (Burghley) (6), *wrate* ii. III, 121 (Randolph), *writ(t)* ii. III, 129 (petit. from All Souls', Oxford); Gasc. *wrote* : *forgote* 143, 193, *gotte* : *trotte* 177 (v. o.), *wroate* I, 90, *wrot(t)* II, 43, 256; Lei. Corr. *wrote* 214 (v. o.), *wrate* 193 (Raleigh), 303, *wrot(t)* 218, 252, *writt* 305; Dee *wrot* 30, *wrote* 26 (7), *writ(t)* 17 (11); Marl. *writ* (5); Sp. *wrote* : *rote*, *note* ii. x, 3 (o.), *writ(t)* i. iv, 32; Astr. 64, *wrate* : *sate* iii. xii, 31; Ellis D *wrote* (5), *wrot*, *wrott(e)* (5), *writt* i. III, 210 (Chas. I); Shaks. *wrote* Tit. v. i, 106 (4), *writ* TG. ii. i, 117 (19); Heyw. *writ* II, 44 (6), *wrote* II, 85, *wrot* VI, 352; BJ. *writ* E. iii. iv (6), *wrot* E. Prol. (*who wrot that piece could so have wrote a play*); Sm. *writ* 224 (25); Cocks *wrote* 40 (9), *wrot(t)* 2 (v. o.), *writ* 68 (6); mod. dial. *(w)rēt* wm. Sc. Lth. n. Cum. Yks. n. Lin., *rit* se. Nhb. n. Cum. s. Chs. nw. Der. Shr., *wroted* Lei. **Ppl.** *written*, *wry-*, *-on*, etc. (with one or two *ts*) in Fisher, Barc., Cov., Hall, Ascham, Hoby, Ellis D, AuV.; Cx. *wryten*, *-on*, *writon* GB. 79 (v. o.), *wreton*, *-en* GB. 1 (o.); Lkbsch. *writ(t)en*, *-yn* (o.), *wretyn* (1), *y write* (1); CeP. *wryt(te)* 12 (5), *wrytten* 52 (o.), *whrettyn* 78, *wreten* 65 (3), *wrete* 40, *ywreten* 4; Sk. *wrete* : *swete*, *concrete* (Lat. adv.) 46, *wryt* : *wyt* 290, *wryten* 17; Ellis A *writ(t)en*, etc. i. I, 45 (v. o.), *wretin*, *wret(t)yn* i. I, 58 (13 times, mostly in Pace's letters), *writ(e)*, *wryte* ii. I, 225, 331, *wirtyn* i. I, 63 (Jas. IV); Ellis B *written*, etc. (o.), *y wrytyn* iii. II, 221 (Godolphin), *wretyn*, *-in*, *-en* iii. II, 353 (7), *wrought* iii. III, 328 (17th cent. copy); BernH. *written*, *wry-*, 182 (4), *wretten* 407; Wyatt *writt* : *shitt* (= shut) XVIII, 272, *writtin*, *-yn* XIX, 416, 438; Tott. B. *ywritten* 711, 2865; Ellis C *written*, *-y-*, (o.), *wreten* i. II, 266 (Sir N. Bacon), *wrettin* i. III, 14 (Jas. VI); Gasc. *writ(t)en* I, 3 (v. o.), *writte* I, 138, 161, *loue writ laies* II, 177, *When workes of warre are*

wrotte by such as I I, 169; Lei. Corr. *written, -y-*, (o.), *wrighten* 467; LyE. *written* (o.), *writ* I, 306; Marl. *written* (1), *writ* (5), *wrote* M. 233; Sp. *written* i. viii, 44 (8 times in poetry, usual in prose), *writ(t)* : *fit, it, flit* ii. iv, 38 (14), *ywritt* : *whitt* i. x, 19, *witt, fitt, flitt* ii. xii, 44; Nashe *wrote* Str. N. G 4 b, usually *written*; Shaks. *written* Meas. iv. ii, 162 (30), *writ(t)* : *it* Lucr. 1331 (65), *vnder-writ* Mcb. v. viii, 26 (4), *wrote* Lr. i. ii, 93 (so Qq, Ff. *writ*); Heyw. *written* I, 133 (o. in I., but not afterwards), *writ* : *wit* II, 36, *it* VI, 344 (v. o.); BJ. *written* V. iii. ii (8), *writ* V. Pref. (13), *wrote* E. Prol.; Sm. *written* 223 (22 times, 5 times on the tittle-page), *writ* 169 (20); Cocks *written* I, 37 (12), *writ* 213, II, 265, *wrot(t)* I, 2 (9); mod. dial. *wrǭtn* Lth. Edb., *rōt* Lth. Edb. War. Som.

Gill (p. 60) says: "*Obseruandum, quaedā esse verba coniugationis primae, quae ratione dialecti sunt etiam secundae, vt,* I wrjt *scribo,* I writ *scribebā,* I häv writn *scripsi, est conjugationis primae; at* I wrjt, *imperfectum commune* I wröt, *& Boreale* I wrät, *secundae.* BJG., see § 7 above.

§ 34. **Writhe.** The ppl. of this verb causes some difficulty. It could appear as *wrethen* (see § 3), and it is so spelt three times in Cov., who has *wrythen* three times, too. But where Cov. has *wrythen* and *wrethen*, the AuV. has *wreathen* except once, where it has *wrethen* (Ex. xxxix, 15). The spelling *wreathen* is to be found in the Bishops' Bible (1568); which has *writhen* once (Ex. xxxix, 15), *wreathed* twice (Ex. xxviii, 14), *wreathen* four times (Ex. xxviii, 22, 24, 2 Kings xxv, 17). AuV. differs from the Bishops' Bible in having *wreathen* in all these places except the first, where it has *wrethen.* It must be noted that AuV. has neither *e* nor *ea* in the ppl. of any other verbs of this class. There is probably some confusion here with the weak verb *wreathe* and the substantive *wreath.* Considering that *writhe* was always weak in the pt. in the 16th century and that the two verbs were very similar in meaning, a confusion between them would have been easy. Cf. *rive* and *reave*, § 21. It would be further helped by the fact that *wreath* sb. sometimes had the form *writh.* Levins (p. 150) rimes *writh* (= *wreath* sb.) with *with* (restis), *kith* and *smith.* EDD. gives [*wrĭth*] for Suffolk, Dorset, Cornwall for *wreath* sb.

Inf. Palsgr. I *wrethe* ... Je teurs 785; GH. *writhe* 64. **Pt.** Cx. *wrothe* M. t. iij, *wrythed* M. n. viij. Liij; Surrey *writhed* Æneid iv, 282, 844; mod. dial. *rið* s. Chs. **Ppl.** Cx. *wrythen* E. 39; Palsgr. *wrethed* teurse 780; Cov. *wrythen* 1 Kgs. vii (3), *wrethen* Ex. xxxiv (3); Hall *wrethen* 207b, *a wrethe* ? ppl. 208b; Nashe *writhed* ppl. UT. H2b, *writhen facde* adj. UT. L4b, *writhen* SLW. H4b, *wrythen* adj. SLW. I1; AuV. *wrethen* Ex. xxxix, 15, *wreathen* Ex. xxviii, 14. 22 (9), *wreathed* La. i, 14; Nares gives *writhed* from Nomenclator 1585 and Holland's translation of Amm. Marcel. 1609; mod. dial. *(w)riðn* Sc. m. Yks. s. Chs.

Class II.

§ 35. In OE. the ablaut-series was as follows:

ēo ēa u o.

The *ēo* of the inf. normally became *ee*, but in *choose, lose, shoot* a different development has taken place (see below), and also in *cleave.*

In the pt. sg. *ēa* normally became *ē*, which is still found in Cx. in the pts. of *choose, cleave* and *shove,* and in BernH. in the pt. of *choose.* This vowel was sometimes taken over into the ppl., so we get ppl. *schett* in CeP., unless this is a weak formation. In the pt. of *choose* and *cleave* forms with *a* also occur (see below). Further, the *o* of the ppl. made its way into the pt. pl. and at the beginning of our period into the pt. sg. All such verbs of this class as are still declined strong, have *o* in the pt. with the exception of *fly.* A large number of the verbs of Cl. II exhibit the grammatical change explained in Verner's law. This has generally been levelled out by carrying through the vowel of the inf., but at the beginning of the period the process was not yet complete. In ME. the consonant of the ppl. and pt. pl. occasionally made its way into the pt. sg., and so we get pt. *frore* in Cx. and the artificial pt. *(for)lore* in Spenser and Fairfax. With the exception of these forms and the ppl. *forlorn,* the consonant of the inf. is found all through the verb after Caxton's time. In ME. many verbs became weak, some like *brew, chew, creep, shove, suck* are mainly weak in the 16th century, though showing occasional strong forms, while others like *choose, cleave, freeze* though mainly strong, show many weak forms. Some verbs have forms with a

mixture of weak and strong, *i. e., cloued, chosed, drowed, frozed. Shoot* owes its forms to the fusion of the conjugation of *scēotan* and *scotian* in ME. There was still some confusion between the forms of *flee* and *fly*, even as late as the AuV. I have divided these verbs into two classes, (i) *choose, lose, shoot* and (ii) miscellaneous verbs.

Subdivision I.

Choose, lose, shoot.

§ 36. The origin and the possible pronunciations of the inf. vowel in these verbs are very difficult to determine. I give below the rimes and other evidence for the pronunciations of the 16th century.

Choose rimes with

(1) [*iū*] or [*iu*]. *chewse* : *refewse* (A XII, 264); *chuse* : *vse* (Tott. 204); *muse* : *peruse* (Googe *Eclogs* [Arber] 29); *use, muse, refuse, abuse* (Sp. MHT. 884, etc.), *chusd* : *infusd* (Sp. FQ. ii. ii, 5); *chuse* : *use, refuse, excuse* (Heyw. II, 249; III, 241; VI, 309); *chvses* : *vses* (GF. 181); *choose* : *refuse* (GH. 173).

(2) [*ō*]. *chose* : *repose, inclose, lose, disclose, oppose, foes, woes* (Sp. iii. ii, 31, etc., see Bauermeister, § 171). All these rimes of Spenser's are with the present or inf. form, not with the pt.

(3) [*ō*] or [*ū*]. *choose* : *loose* adj., *loose* vb. (Sp. FQ. ii. x, 37); *loose* = *lose* vb. (Shaks. Sonn. lxiv); *loose* = *lose* vb. (Bolle *Liederbücher*, pp. 221, 231). The last two rimes are of course uncertain, because the pronunciation of *lose* itself varied.

(4) [*oi*]. *choyse* : *froyse, poyse, hoyse* (Levins p. 216). This is not properly the same word, it comes from the French.

Lose rimes with

(1) [*iū*] or [*iu*]. *loose* : *abuse* (BJ. *Hymenœi* [1640] 139); *vse* (BJ. *Oberon*).

(2) [*ō*]. *lose* : *suppose* (Bale *K. Johan* 74); *disclose, glose, foes, those* (Tott. 29, 56); *rose, close, glose* (Levins 222); *foes* (Gasc. I, 160), *loose* : *goes* (Gasc. I, 160); *lo(o)se* : *suppose, doose* (J. Heywood *Sp. & Flie* 48, 427); *lose* : *inclose, repose, chose* pf.; *dispose, chose* pt., *those, impose* (Sp. FQ. iv. vii, 37, etc.); *lose* : *propose* (Shaks. Ham. iii. ii, 204); *lose* : *rose* (GF. 187).

(3) [ǭ] or [ū]. *loose* : *goose* (Gasc. I, 155); *lose them* : *bosom* (*All for Money* l. 1175 in Shaks. Jbch. XL.); *lose her* : *wooes her* (Chapman I, 279). See also *Choose* (3).

(4) [ī]. *lese* : *chese* sb. (Sk. 343); *leese* : *feese*; *lese, leze* : *freze* (Tott. 92, 7, 25); *leese* : *sneese, theese*; *leeses* : *cheeses, sneeses* (J. Heywood, *Sp. & Flie* 251, 55); *leese* : *sees* (Gasc. I, 447); *fees* : *freeze* (Heyw. II, 230; VI, 310).

Shoot rimes with

(1) ?[ü] or [iu]. *ouer shote vs* : *scutus* (Sk. II, 32).

(2) [ǭ]. *shote* : *forgote* ppl. (A XXVI, 110); *shoote* : *promote* (Gasc. I, 408).

(3) [ī]. A XXVI *shete* : *witt* vb. 119.

(4) [ǭ]. *shoote* : *roote, stoote, wroote* (Levins p. 178). This latter rime is very common.

Excluding the rime with [oi] for *choose*, which does not really belong here, the rimes give us evidence of a pronunciation with [ī], [ǭ], [ǭ] or [ū], [ü] or [iu].

To take the forms with [ī] first. I have not found *chese* in rime. It is frequent in the writers before 1500, but it is rare afterwards. My latest example is from Palsgrave. *Lese* is fairly common at the beginning of the period, it becomes rarer as time goes on. Butler allows it (p. 48). It occurs in the NED. as late as Hobbes. *Shete* occurs in A XXVI, 119. Forms with *e* are given for certain Scotch dialects and for Devonshire in Wright EDD., s. v. *Shoot*. All these forms are regularly descended from the OE. inf. with *ēo*.

The forms in [ǭ] are less easy to explain. The only rimes in [ǭ] for *choose* are in Sp. Either this is an eye-rime, or Sp., seeing the spelling *chose* in older writers, really thought it represented an archaic form, and so used it. But in late ME. and early mod. English, spellings like *-ose* could be used to represent both an open and a close vowel. *Lose* has more frequent rimes with [ǭ] than with any other vowel, and [ǭ] is given by Bullokar (Plessow, p. 174) and by Butler (p. 48, also *Fem. Mon.* p. 67). This pronunciation [ǭ] is indicated by the spelling *loase* in Fenton and also by *lose*. It comes from the OE. weak verb *losian*. Various dialects have [ǭ] in the inf. of *lose*, see Wright EDD. [ǭ] in *shoot* is only supported by the two rimes given above. If it really existed,

it came from OE. *scotian.* The spelling *shote* is, like *chose,* rare in later 16th century, and when it occurs in the earlier part of the century it may denote either a close or an open vowel.

[*ū*] is indicated for all these verbs by rimes, and for *choose* and *shoot* by the frequent spellings in *oo.* Such spellings are less frequent for *lose,* though *louse* occurs in Barclay (I, 28), also *lows* (I, 144, 175). *Chouse* occurs in Hoby (p. 10 &c.). Bullokar gives [*ū*] for *shoot* (Hauck p. 16). For [*ū*] in *choose,* see the quotation from Butler below.

The evidence for the existence of [*ǖ*] or [*iu*] is very conflicting. For *choose* there are the numerous rimes. This evidence seems to be above suspicion, as I have not found any other instances of ME. [*ǭ*] riming with ME. [*ǖ*], nor are any instances given in Bauermeister or Vietor. Bullokar gives *choose* with the letter for [*ǖ*] three times (Plessow, pp. 106, 179, 195), and Gill once where he is transcribing a canto from Spenser in which *chuse* rimes with *refuse* (p. 106). In Mason's *Grammaire Angloise* (ed. Brotanek) p. 10, the pronunciation [*iu*] is given for *muse, chuse, refuse, conclude.* Diehl (p. 36) gives the spellings *chewse, cheose,* which (at all events *chewse*) are probably attempts to represent this sound, though Diehl regards them as a mixture of *chese* and *chose.* Machyn's spellings *chuysse, chusse, chus*(*e*) seem to be attempts at [*ǖ*] or [*iu*]. On the other hand Butler did not know of this pronunciation. (To understand the following quotation one must bear in mind that in Butler *o* represents [*o*], *oo* represents [*u*], and *u* represents [*ü*], and that a comma after a consonant indicates that the vowel in that syllable is long). Butler says: "To choos' ... This word was of old' written chos' (*o* for *oo* being then common ...); but the vouel not yeelding the right sound, it was afterward rightly written *choos'.* But why the lat' Printers leav choos', and choos' *chus',* I can giv no' reason: they might as wel writ' lus' for loos', or tuk' for took'" (p. 50). — Of course there are many people nowadays, even professional phoneticians, who say "they have never heard" a pronunciation they are hearing every day of their lives, but for all that, this statement of Butler's suggests that [*ǖ*] in *choose* cannot have been very frequent. On the other hand, there is the curious persistence of the spelling

chuse down to a comparatively late period. In the dialects we get forms like [*tʃiuz*], [*tʃeuz*] for *choose, schuit, shuit, sute, sut* for *shoot*. See Wright EDD. For [*ǖ*] in *lose*, there are only the rimes in Ben Jonson. Butler in the passage just quoted implies that [*ǖ*] in *lose* was as unreasonable as it would have been in *took*. [*ǖ*] in *shoot* is supported by the statement in BJG. (c. 18) "Some pronounce the verbs by the diphthong *ew, chewse, shewt*; and that is Scottish-like." There is also the doubtful rime *ouer shote vs* : *scutus* in Skelton. And the spellings *sute* and *shewte* in Cocks (who has also *shute* and *shoute*) and *shute* in Cov., Machyn, Hoby, point to [*ǖ*] or [*iu*] rather than to anything else.

The difficulty is, assuming that [*ǖ, iu*] existed in some or all of these verbs, to define the relations between that pronunciation and [*ū*]. Sweet (NEG. §§ 1417, 1437 (explains [*ǖ*] in *choose, shoot* by saying that it comes from W. Midl. [*ǖ*], which regularly comes from OE. *ēo*, and this [*ǖ*] afterwards became [*u*]. (With reference to the literature on OE. *ēo* > ME. *eo, u*, see the list of authors given by Bülbring in *Bonner Beiträge*, Bd. XV, p. 115). Luick in *Anglia* (XIV, 291) explains *choose* thus: "Beim übergang der palatalis zum *u* stellte sich ein *i*-glied ein, das zusammen mit dem *u* einem *iu* sehr nahe kommt. Da nun sonst *iu* und *ü* als varianten desselben lauts galten, so konnte durch analogie auch in diesen worten sich *ü* einstellen." Luick compares *choose* with *youth*, for which some early phoneticians indicate the pronunciation [*jü, jiu*].

It is impossible to settle this question here. But the following summary concerning the history of these verbs will throw some light on it. The earliest quotations in the NED. for *chuse* are from: c 1300 St. Margarete 103; 1340—70 Alisaunder 140; c 1400 Maundev. 221. Bradley-Stratmann gives *schute* from No. 16 of the *Poems and Saints' Lives* published by Furnivall for the Philological Society in 1862. Carstens in his Dissertation on Sir Ferumbras (Kiel 1884, pp. 24—26) gives the rimes *bude* (beodan) : *gude* (geēode) 1792; *chuse* : *luse* 4468; *bute* (*bēoton*, pt. of *bēatan*) : *grute* (grēat) 2907; *fulle* (pt. of *fall*) : *reculle* (Fr. *reculer*) 70, and also the spellings *bute* 3895, *schute* 32, 54, *chuse* 4364. Dibelius (§ 56) quotes from Pecock *ʒutting* (OE. *gēotan*) and *schuting* (pp. 138, 120). Hoffmann in his Dissertation on Pecock (Greifswald 1900,

pp. 28—29) does not notice these forms. I have not found *u* in the inf. of these verbs in either Chaucer or Gower. *Schute, schuter* occur in *Catholicon Anglicum* (E. E. T. S.) p. 338—343. After that comes Cx. with *chuse*, a form which was to become frequent in the 16th century. In modern dialects pronunciations from which an earlier *ü* or *iu* could be inferred are confined to the North.

It will be seen that the earliest examples of *u* in the inf. come from western writers. Through the kindness of Mr. Rohr I have been able to have the quotation from Mandevile given in the NED. looked up in the MS., and Mr. Rohr informs me that there the MS. has not *chuse*. So this form was either a misprint in the edition quoted or was introduced from a later text. There remain the forms *ȝutting, schuting* in Pecock. According to Schmidt, Pecock did not employ the dialect of his native district, Wales, but more probably that of Oxford. Pecock, however, lived so much in the West and South-west that isolated forms from the dialects of these districts are not to be wondered at. So that makes Cx. the first man whose language is quite free from any suspicion of such dialect influence to use *chuse*, and the *Catholicon Anglicum* and Skelton the first to use *shute*. I have turned over some hundreds of pages of 15th century literature, Lydgate, Hoccleve, Paston Letters, and the rest, without being able to find any earlier examples than these.

There are three possible ways of explaining this *ü* or *iu* in the inf. First, Sweet's, that it comes from W. Midl. *ü* developed from OE. *ēo*; secondly, Luick's, that it is to be explained by the developement of a vowel-glide after the palatal as in [*jüi̯þ*] from *youth*; thirdly, it may be that the Northern form ($\bar{o} > \bar{u} > \ddot{u}$) had found its way South. This latter theory receives some support from BJ.'s statement that the pronunciation which he spells with *ew*, was "Scottish-like". Although Luick's explanation is possible theoretically, I can find no evidence to prove that the actual process was as he says. Luick thinks this change took place about 1400, but, as I have shown above, this cannot be made out for *choose* and *shoot*. There is no immediate evidence for Sweet's theory either, unless we accept the forms in Pecock as such. It is true that [*ü*] occurs in the dialect of east Devon for

choose, lose, shoot, also in Sussex for *lose.* See Wright EDG. Index. But this proves nothing, as, according to Kruisinga [*ü*] comes regularly from ME. [*ō*] (pp. 72-3). There is no trace whatever in southern or western dialects of [*ü*] from OE. *ēo* through ME. *œ̄.* *Burn* and *burst,* for which Sweet supposes the same development, are probably to be explained differently. See §§ 96, 97. The explanation which has the balance of probability in its favour, is that [*ü*] in *choose, lose* and *shoot* came from the North. Ben Jonson's statement is the only positive piece of evidence that we have to go upon, and it is so positive that I do not see how it can very well be ignored.

So far with regard to *choose* and *shoot.* There is no evidence for [*ü*] or [*iu*] in *lose,* except the rimes in Ben Jonson. This might be accounted for by a fact which would suit all three theories, but Luick's more than any, namely that [*i*] is hard to pronounce after *l* in this connection. Cf. the modern pronunciation of *lewd, Luke, lukewarm, luminous, lunar, lure, lurid.* The NED. suggests that the *u* arose by the influence of the verb *loose,* which in some phrases (*e. g.* loose hold) resembled it in meaning. Sweet says (NEG. § 1322): "in Early MnE. *lese* took [*uu*] from the adjective *loose* and verb *loosen* [ME. *lōs, lōsnen* from Scandinavian *louss* 'free', *lousna* 'get loose'] being at first written *loose,* then *lose,* to distinguish it from the adjective *loose.*" This explanation does not seem to me satisfactory, and what is said about the spelling weakens it considerably. It is not likely that there were two quite contradictory processes going on at the same time in this word — one associative, tending to confuse it with *loose* in pronunciation — the other dissociative, tending to keep it strictly apart from *loose* in spelling. Any tendency towards the association of the two words strong enough to affect the pronunciation would probably have carried the spelling with it. The best derivation would be from OE. *lēosan,* where *ēo* > *eō* (by shifting of accent), *ō, ū.* And the same derivation is best for the forms *choose* and *shoot.* If you explain *choose* and *shoot* with Sweet by saying that the [*ū*] arises from [*ü*], that leaves the spelling quite unexplained. An explanation which accounts for the [*ū*] in all three cases is most likely to be the right one. Sweet has one explanation for *choose*

and *shoot* and another for *lose*. The present spelling of *lose* is quite easy to explain. We keep the spelling of the form which came from *losian*, in order to distinguish it from *loose*, while we keep the pronunciation which came from *lēosan*. So that we have in the 16th century the following pronunciations:

(1) [ī] (usual descendant of OE. *ēo*).

(2) [ū] (arising from shifting of accent, $\bar{e}o > e\bar{o} > \bar{o} > \bar{u}$).

(3) [ǖ] or [*iu*] (variously explained, at any rate not leading to [ū]; nowadays common in the Northern dialects and rare in the South).

(4) [ō] (in *lose* frequent, doubtful in *choose* and *shoot*).

§ 37. **Choose.** For the usual forms of the inf., see § 36. *Choise, choyse, choice* and similar forms in Ascham, Levins and Sm. are from OF. *choisir*.

Three forms of the pt. are found in Cx.; *chese, chees* from OE. *cēas*; *chaas, chase, chasse*, either developed by the side of *chese* as *bare* by the side of *bęre* (ten Brink, § 49) or showing a peculiar phonetic development of its own from the OE. pt. (see Bülbring, A. Beibl. XI, 108), and *chose, choos, chosen*, mostly in pl., where the *o* comes from the ppl. *Chese* (latest in NED. a 1450) occurs again in BernH. *Chase* I have only found again in Wyatt, NED. gives it as late as 1555. *Chose* which had already occurred in sg. in Pecock (p. 168), is the chief form after 1500. In the ppl. *chosen* is the usual form. *Chose* occurs too, after 1500 generally only in poetry for the sake of the metre or the rime. Shaks. uses it once on prose (LLL. v. i, 98) = *choice* adj. The speaker is Holofernes and Shaks. is ridiculing his English. Heyw. also uses it in prose in a clown's speech. It occurs in the dialect of the Isle of Man. Weak forms are numerous in both pt. and ppl. *Chused* had already occurred in Alisaunder l. 140 (see NED.), *chosed* is pt. in Cov., *choosed* in Chapman (NED.). *Chused* is common in the ppl., NED. gives quotations for *chosed* from Douglas on, *choosid* occurs in Elizab. & J. and Chapman. *Choosed* occurs as pt. and ppl. in a number of dialects. *Chosed* shows a mixture of weak and strong, cf. *cloued, drowed, frozed*.

Inf. See also § 36. Cx. *chese* R. 108 (o.), *chose* E. 154, GB. 19, *chuse* B. 75 (8); Lkbsch. *chese* (o.), *chose*; CeP. *chese*; Ellis A

chesinge i. I, 136 (Tunstall), *choose* 172 (Wingfield), *chose* iii. I, 277 (Pace); Barc. *chuse* I, 37, *chose* II, 309, 328; Fisher *chose* 3, *choose* 376; A XII *chewse* : *refewse* 264 (a 1510); Ellis B *chose* i. II, 247 (Mary Scots), *choose* ii. II, 292 (Cecil) (2), *choesinge* 312 (schoolmaster); BernH. *chose* 2, 15 (o.); Cov. *chose* Josh. xxiv; Surrey *chuse* 328; Tott. *chuse* : *vse* 204; Ascham *chose* 12 (6), *choosing* 191, *choise* 195; Machyn *chuysse* 17; 90, *chusse* 141, *chus* 241, *chuse* 265, 289; Hoby *chouse* 10 (o.), *chuse* 35, 58, *choose* 71; Googe Eclogs *chuse* : *muse*, *peruse* (Arb.) 29; Levins *choyse* : *froyse*, *poyse*, *hoyse* 216; Gasc. *chuse* I, 3 (v. o.), *choose* I, 104, 304; Lei. Corr. *chuse* 76, 425; LyE. *chuse* I, 194 (o.), *choose* I, 228; LyP. *chuse* III, 42 (4), *choose* III, 178. 246, *chose* III, 262; Kyd *choose* (8), *chuse* (3); Sp. *choose* ii. vii, 33, *chuse* : *abuse* MHT. 884; Ellis D *choose* (3), *chuse* (1); Shaks. *choose* : *loose* Sonn. lxiv (3), AuV. *choose* Ex. xvii, 9 (35), *chuse* De. xii, 5 (21); Heyw. *choose* I, 23 (o.), *chuse* : *refuse* II, 249, *vse* sb. III, 241, *excuse* v. VI, 309 (more often than *choose*), *chose* II, 249. 354; BJ. *choose* V. i. ii. (5), *chuse* SN. i. ii. (3); Sm. *choose* 279 (3), *chuse* 263 (5), *choice* 958; Cocks *chuse* 27 (5); GF. *chvses* : *vses*, *abvses* 181; GH. *choose* 97 : *refuse* 173. **Pt.** Cx. *chese* sg. C. eij, *chees* sg. C. fv, pl. GB. 30, *chase* C. fvj, hiij, *chaas* GB. sg. 2, pl. 216, Chyualry i, 3, *chasse* sg. GB. 226, *choos* pl. GB. 131 (3), *chose* pl. E. 53 (4), *chosen* pl. GB. 300; More Pico *chose* : *close* vb., *dispose* vb. 62; Wyatt *chose* XVIII, 281, *chase* XIX, 208 [v. r. *chose*]; BernH. *chose* 483, 530, *chese* 715; Cov. *chose* Ge. xiii, 11 (o.), *chosed* Isa. lxv; Heyw. *chus'd* VI, 159; *chose* only form in Ellis, Barc., Hoby, Gasc., LyE., Kyd, Shaks., AuV.; mod. dial. *choosed* Sc. Yks. Sus. **Ppl.** Cx. *chosen* GB. 3 (o.); CeP. *chosen* 119, *choosen* 120, *chossyn* 6, *chossyd* 68; Surrey *chossen* 303; Tott. B. *chosen* 198 (o.), *chose* : *foes* (3, 2 in rime); Machyn *chossen* 7 (3), *chosen* 17 (5), *-yn* 108, *choyssen* 24; Lei. Corr. *chosen* 87, 181, *chossen* 479; Eliz. & J. *choosid* 102 (J.), *chosen* 91, 122; Kyd *chose* Jer. 67, *chosen* SP. 1617 (2); Marlowe *chose* E. 178; Sp. *chosen* i. x, 57, *choosen* SI. 618, *chusd* : *infusd* ii. ii, 5; Shaks. *chosen* Ado iii. iii, 6 (19), *chose* Oth. i. i, 17 (6); AuV. *chosen* Ex. xv, 4 (so always in all texts of the Hexapla); Heyw. *chosen* I, 319 (4), *chus'd* II, 396 (4), *chose* V, 123; BJ. *chōsen* P. ii. ii. (5); Sm. *chosen* 91 (v. o.); Cocks *chosen* 74 (3); Chapman *chus'd* III, 128; mod. dial. *tʃōz* I. Ma., *choosed* ne. Sc. w. Frf. e. Per.

BJG. (c. 18) says, "*choose, chose, chosen.* And one more, *shoot, shot*; in the *participle past, shot,* or *shotten.* Some pronounce the *verbs* by the *diphthong ew, chewse, shewt*; and that is Scottish-like". Gill, **inf.** *chvz* 106, giving a piece from Sp., where it rimes with *refvz*), **pt.** *chöz* (p. 123), **ppl.** *chözn* (pp. 75, 155).

§ 38. **Lose.** For the usual forms of the inf. see § 36. *Lossyng* in Machyn (p. 195) may be a back-formation from *loss* sb., as in Scotch, see NED., or it may be merely a bad spelling. Palsgr. has this entry on p. 614/2: "I lose, loke above in I 'lese'. I lorne, I lose a thyng . . . conjugate in 'I lese', but this terme is nat in use, though we borowe 'I forlore' of the doutche tonge". I have found no trace of these infinitives, nor are they mentioned in the NED. Sp. has an inf. *lore* (= desert, abandon), formed from the ppl. (FQ. i. iv, 2; iii. i, 44). In the pt. Sp. invented a form *forlore* for the sake of the rime. It was imitated by Fairfax, see NED. In the ppl. *lorn* occurs as late as Greene (Wks. II, 268). It had been used as an adj. since the 14th century. *Forlore* occurs as ppl. from the 13th to the 19th centuries. I have only found it in rime. *Forlorn* often occurs as a ppl. in the 16th century, and the NED. gives examples as late as the 18th century. As an adj. it is first instanced by the NED. from the OE. Chron. of 1154. By the 16th century the adj. had a flourishing independent existence, and had developed a number of meanings.

Inf. See also § 36. Cx. *lese* Cu. 2, R. 82, *lose* E. 33 (see Römst. p. 19); Lkbsch. *lese* (4), *leese* (1), *lose* (1); CeP. *lese* 10, *lesse, leyesse* 79; Sk. *lese* : *chese* sb. 343; Ellis A *lose* ii. I, 208 (agent), iii. I, 220 (Warham), *leese* iii. II, 97 (agent); Barc. *louse* I, 28, *lows* I, 144. 175, *louser* I, 56, *lese* I, 240 (3); Fisher *lese* 64, *lose* 383 (3); Palsgr. *lese* 606, see also foregoing paragraph; BernH. *lese* 37 (usual, 3 times altered in 1601 ed. to *loose*), *lose* 87 (4); Cov. *loose* Lk. xv, 4. 8, *lose* Lk. xvii, 33 (*lose* more freq.); Heyw. Sp. & Fl. *lo(o)se* : *suppose* 48, *doose* 427, *leese* : *sneese* 55, *theese* 251, *leeses* : *cheeses, sneeses* 55; Bale *lose* : *suppose* K. Johan 74; Tott. *lose* : *foes* 29, *disclose, glose, those* 56, *leese* : *feese* 92, *lese* : *freze* 25; Ascham *lease* 64 (3), *leese* 87 (9), *lese* 95 (2), *lose* 139 (3), *loose* 26;

Machyn *loysse* 24, *-yng* 195; Gasc. *le(e)se* : *sees* I, 447 (v. o.), *lease* I, 463, *loose* : *goes* I, 106, *goose* I, 155 (v. o.), *lose* : *foes* I, 160; Fenton *loase* I, 30 (6); Ellis C *loose* ii. III, 96 (priest); Levins *lose* : *glose* vb., *close* a., *almose* 222; LyE. *loose* I, 205 (5), *lose* I, 223 (3), *leese* I, 319; LyP. *loose* II, 383 (v. o.), *lose* III, 68 (v. o.); Sp. *loose* : *loose* a., *choose* ii. x, 37, *lose* : *impose, those* vi. vii, 37 (3 times in rime with *o*), *lore* i. iv, 2, iii. i, 44; Und. *lese* 23, *lose* 56 (2), *loose* 63 (5); Ellis D *lose* i. III, 277, *lose* 280 (Mead), *loosinge* ii. III, 242 (Laud); Shaks. see *Choose* inf., *lose* : *propose* Ham. iii. ii, 204; AuV. *leese* 1 Kgs. xviii, 5, *lose* Eccl. iii, 6 (20), *loose* Lk. xv, 4 (3); Heyw. *leese* : *fees* II, 130, *freeze* VI, 310. 320, *loose* : *choose* II, 145 (prevailing form), *lose* I, 17 (not so often as *loose*); BJ. *lose* V. ii. iii, *loose* V. iv. i (*lose* commoner, *loose* twice altered in 1640 ed. to *lose*); Sm. *loose* I, 122 (2), *lose* 144 (8); Cocks *loose* 37 (7); Chapman *loose her* : *wooes her* I, 279; GF. *lose* : *rose* 187. **Pt.** *lost* (*e* always exc. Sp. *lore* iii. xii, 4 (in rime, otherwise *lost*), *forlore* ii. xii, 52 (3 times in rime). **Ppl.** Cx. *forlorn* R. 50 (Römstedt's *lorn* not found); A XXVI *lorne* 159, *forlorne* 189, 239; Surrey *forlorne* (= *lost*) : *beforne* 329; Hawes *forlore* : *rore* 182; Tott. *forlore* : *more* 147, *before* 219; Tott. B. *lorne* 115 (3); Crowley *forlore* : *therefore* (E. E. T. S.) 99; Gasc. *forlorne* = *lost* I, 105, in derived senses I, 165; II, 273; LyP. *forlorn* = *lost* III, 373; Sp. *lore* : *dore, more* v. x, 38, *lorne* : *borne* i. iv, 2 (4), *lost* usual, *forlore* i. viii, 39 (8, all in rime), *forlorne* = *lost* ii. v, 35, vi, 31, derived sense iii. iv, 36; Shaks. *forlorn(e)* = *lost* Cymb. v. v, 405, in derived senses Tit. ii. iii, 94 (24), *lasse-lorne* Tp. iv, 68 (otherwise *lost*[*e*]); Sm. *forlorne* 641 (2); GF. *forlore* : *bore* 199; mod. dial. *losn* ne. & m. Yks., *loosed* w. Yks. w. Som.

§ 39. **Shoot.** For the inf., see § 36. The spelling *shote* in pt. probably does not denote a long vowel, see § 1. Machyn's pt. *shut* is hard to explain, except on the theory of bad spelling. The ppl. *schett* in CeP. is from OE. pt. *scēat*, with vowel-shortening, and the form transferred to the ppl.; or it is a weak form. No instance of *schett* in ppl. is given in Bradley-Stratmann. *Shot* pt. and *shot, shotten* ppl. are not from OE. *scēotan* but from the weak verb *scotian*. (Bülbring p. 94). *Shotten* is used in combinations to form a number of adjectives, as *blood-, cup-, nook-, shoulder-shotten.*

Inf. See also § 36. Cx. *shotyng* GB. 103; A XXVI *shete* : *witt* 119; Sk. *ouer shote vs* : *scutus* II, 32; Barc. *shote* I, 104; II, 122; Ellis A *shote* i. I, 70 (agent) (2); Palsgr. *shote* (7), *shoote, shoottynge* 704-5; BernH. *shote* 132 (3); Cov. *shute* Sam. xx, 20 (3); Ascham *shote* much more frequent than *shoot*; Machyn *shut(t)* 101 (4), *shutyng* 79 (3); Hoby *shute* 23; Gasc. *shoote* : *promote* I, 408 (v. o.); Levins *shoote* : *roote, stoote, wroote* 178; Eliz. & J. *shute* 17, *shoute* 50; Cocks *sute* 52, *shewte* 80, *shute* 214, *shoute* II, 212; in other writers only *shoot(e)*. **Pt.** Cx. *shot(te)* GB. 74 (usual), *shote* M. Y. viij; Hall *shot(te)* 8 (v. o.), *shote* 34, 36 b; Machyn *shott* (4), *shut* 79; Gasc. *shot(te)* (6), *shote* I, 148; *shot(te)* only form in other writers. **Ppl.** CeP. *schett* 97, *shott* 77; Boorde *cupshoten* in Introd. Knowl. (E. E. T. S.) 156, *cupshote* 309 (latter from Barnes *On the Berde*); Dee *blud-shotten* 48, 49; Shaks. *shot-, o're-, ouer-*, TG. ii. iv, 34 (o.), *shotten* adj. 1H4, ii. iv, 43, *nook-shotten* H 5, iii. v, 14, *shoulder-shotten* Shr. iii. ii, 56; Cotgrave *cup-shotten* s. v. *Yvre, pot-shotten* s. v. *Forbeu* (quoted from Boorde (E. E. T. S. p. 156); *shot(te)* only form in other writers; mod. dial. *ʃotn, ʃutn, ʃɒtn* from Sc. to Ken., *ʃet, ʃīt, ʃɒt* Abd. w. Som. Dev. Cor., *shooted* w. Yks. Brks.

BJG. see § 37. Not in Gill.

Miscellaneous.

§ 40. **Brew.** There are no strong forms for the pt. after the 15th century in NED. A strong ppl. *browne* is quoted from Bury Wills (1622), and Scotch forms *browin, brouin, broune* are given for the 16th century. Wright gives *bruin* as ppl. for w. Yks. I have found only weak forms.

§ 41. **Chew.** NED. gives no strong forms in ME., but quotes a ppl. *chewen* from Lyte's Dodoens (1578). I have found no strong forms.

§ 42. **Cleave.** The vowel in the inf. is irregular. It should have been [ē], spelt *ee*, cf. *freeze*. *Ea*, that is [ę̄], is due to the influence of the weak verb *cleave*, which comes from OE. *cleofian* (see Horn, p. 62). Smith still distinguishes the two verbs, he gives *findere clëv, hærere clïv* (p. 36). In the pt.

the direct descendant of OE. *clēaf* would have been *cleef* or *clefe*, which does not occur in Cx. (Latest in NED. *Destr. Troy* c. 1400.) Cx. has, contrary to his usual practice, *cleue* with a voiced final consonant (latest in NED., *Generides* c. 1440). By the side of *clefe* and *cleue*, *clafe* and *claue* had been developed on the analogy of verbs of Class IV and V. These are the most frequent forms in Cx. Besides this, the weak forms *cleft, cleued, cloued* occur. (NED. gives pt. *cloued* from the *Sonnes of Amyon* 61 and ppl. *clofyd* from *Tundale's Vis.* 1200 and suggests a mistake for *cleued*. But the mixture of strong and weak in *cloued* is quite intelligible, cf. *chosed, drowed, frozed.*) The weak form *cleued* had already occurred in the 14th century, *cleft* occurs for the first time in Cx. After Cx. *cleue* does not occur again. [*klēv, klōv, klov*] are the dialect forms. In the ppl. Cx. has *clouen* and *cleft*, which are both common in the 16th century. Shaks., AuV., BJ., Heyw. make *clouen* only adj. and *cleft* only ppl. *Cleued* occurs in A XII. *Cloue* (in Tott. B. and Cocks) is not instanced by NED. between the 15th and 18th centuries. [*klovn*] is the only dialect ppl.

Pt. Cx. *claaf* sg. B. 166, *claf(fe)* M. Rviij, Chas. Gt. 169, *clafe* M. ev (6), *claue* M. dvj, *cleue* B. 205, *cloue* B. 107 (6), *clefte* C. iv (3), *cleued* B. 89, E. 152, *cloued* B. 97, 190; A XXVI *claue* 247, *clift* 262; Palsgr. *claue* 486; BernH. *cloue* 30, *claue* 123 (o.); Cov. *cloue* Nu. xvi, 31 (2), *cloaue* Ps. lxxviii, 15, *claue* 1 Sa. vi, 14; Machyn *cloyffe* 85; Sp. *claue* : *gaue* VG. 568, *cloue* : *stroue, droue* ii. ii, 3; vi, 31, *cleft(e)* i. ii, 19; iii. v, 23 : *left, reft* iv. iii, 12, *cleav'd* : *receiv'd* MHT. 1258; Shaks. *cloue* Lr. i. iv, 175, *cleft* WT. iii. ii, 197, 3H6, i. i, 12; AuV. *claue* Gen. xxii, 3 (6); GH. *claue* 22, *cleft* 76; mod. dial. *klēv, klov, klōv* Yks., Shr. **Ppl.** Cx. *clouen* E. 35 (usual), *clefte* GB. 99; Palsgr. *cleft* 486; A XII *cleued* 15; BernH. *clouen* 187 (o.); Cov. *clouen* Acts ii, 3; Ascham *clouen* 77; Tott. B. *clouen* 268, *cloue* 1020; Kyd *cleft* Jer. 1057, *halfe clouen* a. Cor. 1827; Sp. *clouen* i. v, 12 (2), *cleft* (1), *clift* (1); Und. *cloven* 34, *cleft* a. 280; Shaks. *cleft* Gent. v. iv, 103 (7), *clouen* Tp. i. ii, 277 (5 times, always with sb.); AuV. *cleft* Micah i, 4, *clouen* De. xiv, 7; Acts ii, 3, *clouen footed* Lev. xi, 3. 7. 26; Heyw. *cleft* III, 94. 356, *clouen* a. IV, 243; BJ. *cleft* V. iii. viii, *clouen* a. D. i. iii; Cocks *clove* 167; mod. dial. *klovn* Cum. Yks. Shr.

BJG., see § 104. Gill (p. 61) says, "To klëv *findere, vnicum est (quod memini) commune primæ cum tertiâ coniugatione: vt,* I klëv, I kleft, I hav kleft; & I klëv, I kläv, I hav klövn".

§ 43. **Creep.** Weak forms had occurred in the 14th century and are much the commonest in our period. *Crope* occurs in Cx., Cov. and Und. in the pt. and it is given by the NED. as late as Landor. It is common in the dialects. In the ppl. I have not found *cropen* after Cx., but it is given by the NED. as late as the 17th century. NED. also gives *crepen* from Philpot (1553), this form seems to unite the vowel of the weak verb with a strong ending. It is still used in the dialect of m. and n. Yks. *Crope,* the ppl. in Markham, began with Capgrave and lasted in literature till the 18th century. It is still used in the dialects of Shr. and Som.

Pt. Cx. *crope* sg. 27, *crepte* 38, 36; Cov. *crope* 1. Sam. xiii; Und. *crope* 9, *crept(e)*, *creapt* 218 (4); in other writers only weak; mod. dial. *krap, krēp, krop, krōp* Sc. n. Cy. Yks. Lanc. Chs. Shr. Heref. Glo. Surry, Hamps. s. w. Cy., *croped* Som. Cor., *creeped* Sc. Yks. **Ppl.** Cx. *cropen* R. 17; Markham *crope* in Grinuile (Arb.) 41; in other writers only weak; mod. dial. *krōpn, krɒpn* Sc. n. Cy. n. Yks. Lanc. Chs. Shr., *krepn, kripn* m. & n. Yks., *krōp* Shr. Som., *creeped* Sc. w. Yks.

Not in BJG. or Gill.

§ 44. **Dree.** NED. only gives weak forms for this period. *Drowed* in the example below shows the ablaut vowel of the ppl. with the weak ending.

Ppl. Bradshaw *drowed* St. Werburg (E. E. T. S.) ii, 1856.

§ 45. **Flee, Fly.** The infinitives of these verbs were inextricably mixed in early ME. (See NED. and Bülbring p. 92). The following from Barc. is an example of how indifferently they could be used together:

> "The dartis of suche ouer all the worldly flye
> And euer in fleynge their fethers multyply."

This confusion is still present to some extent in AuV., where in two places the 1611 text has *flee* (Ps. lv, 6, Hos. ix, 11), altered in mod. edd. to *fly. Flee* sometimes has pt. *flew* and

ppl. *fleene* in the 16th century, see NED., but it is in the large majority of cases weak. *Fleed* occurs in Tindale and occasionally in later translators, but Sopp shows that *ee* is frequently used to denote a short vowel in Tindale (p. 16). In the pt. of *fly* Cx.'s *flow(e)* shows the vowel and consonant of the ppl. *Flough(e)* shows the vowel of the ppl. with the consonant of the pt. sg. The pt. *flo* occurs in the early 16th century songs printed in HA. CVI, 285. *Flew* was adopted in the 15th century on the analogy of the Reduplicating Verbs like *blow*, which had a ppl. *blown*, like *flown* from *fly*. NED. gives a pt. *flaw(e)* for the 16th century which had arisen in the 14th century from *flagh(e)*, *flaȝe*, which is descended from the Anglian form *flæh*. The usual form of the ppl. is of course *flown(e)*, *flowen*. NED. also gives *fline*, *flyen* for the 16th-17th centuries, which came from the inf. as *lien* from *lie*, *fleen* (confusion with *flee*) and *flighen* (also from inf.) for the 16th century, and *flew* (from pt.) for the 17th-18th centuries, the earliest coming from Massinger. (*Flū*) is still the ppl. in the dialect of Leicester. Weak forms are rare in this period, pt. *fleyd* occurs in Monk of Evesham, NED. gives pt. *flyed*, *flide* from Hanmer and Warner, ppl. *flyde*, *flide*, &c. only in the 17th century and chiefly for rime; *flied* in pt. and ppl. is still used in dialects.

In the following list f = *fugere*, v = *volare*.

Inf. Cx. *flee* C. cv, *fleyng* (v) R. 69, see Römst. p. 24; CeP. *fly* 22, *fle* 71; Barc. *fleynge* I, 204, *fle* (v) II, 7, *fle* I, 297 (?); Ellis A *flee* (v) iii. I, 227 (gentleman), (f) 252 (bishop); Fisher *flee* (f) 37 (o.), *fleeth* (v) 154, *flyeth* (v) 155, *flie*, *fly* (f) 426; Palsgr. *flye* in both senses 552; Ellis B *fleyng* (f) ii. II, 46 (agent), *flee* (v) iii. II, 311 (agent) (3), *fly* (v) iii. III, 211 (R. Cromwell); BernH. *fly(e)* (f) 22 (3), *fle* (f) 394 (3), *flye* (v) 68, *fleye* (v) 368, *fleynge* (v) 389; Cov. *fle* (v) Job xxxviii, 41; Surrey *fleye* (f) 33 : *see* 338; Ascham *fly(e)* &c. (v) (12), *flee* (v) (4), *flye* (f) (1); Hoby *flee* (f) 50 (4), *fleeth* (v) 58; Gasc. *flie* (v) I, 20, *flee* (f) I, 306. 323, *fleeth* (v) II, 309; Ellis C *fly* (f) i. II, 273 (Leicester); LyE. *fly* (v) I, 206; Levins *to Flee*, volare, fugère 46, *to Flye, run away* 99, *to Flye auoyd* 108; *to Flye as a bird* 99, 108; Kyd *flie*, *flye* (f) 10, *flie*, *fly* (v) (7); Shaks. *flee* (f) L. L. L. iii, 66, *flie*, *fly* (in many shades of meaning, difficult to distinguish); AuV. *flee* (v) Ps. lv, 6, Hos.

ix, 11 (mod. edd. *fly*), *flie* (v) Rev. xiv, 6 (20), *flye* (f) Ezek. xiii, 20, *flee* (f) Gen. xvi, 86 (about 115 times); Sm. *fly* (f) 15; Cocks *flying* (v) 195. **Pt. & Ppl.** of *flee* (f) invariably *fled(de)*. Of *fly* the **Pt.** is: Cx. *flewe* GB. 160 (6), *flowe* pl. B. 84, 202, *flough(e)* E. 119 (5), *flewh* R. 20 (3 in R.); Monk of Evesham *fleyd* (Arber) 45; Ascham *flewe* 1 (4), *flue* 72; Machyn *fluw* 207 (3); Gasc. *flew* I, 372, *flue* : *true* II, 100; Bolle *flyde mee* : *spyde mee* Liederbücher 143; *flew(e)* only form in BernH., Cov., LyE., LyP., Kyd, Und., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., Sm., Cocks; mod. dial. *flā, flō* Sc. I. W., *flewed* Dor. w. Som., *flod* Wil., *flied* from Nhb. to Cor. **Ppl.** Cx. *flowen* R. 20 (2), BernH. *flowen* 347 (3); Gasc. *flowen* I, 96, *flowne* 333; LyP. *flowne* II, 34 (2); *flowen* III, 145 (2); Shaks. *flown(e)* Sonn. cxlv. (6); Heyw. *flowne* II, 98 (3); BJ. *flowne* BF. iii. v, *flyen* SN. Interm. iv. (uneducated person speaking); Sm. *flown* 798; mod. dial. *fleun, flɔχn* Sc. m. Yks., *flū* Lei., *flied* w. Som. Cor.

BJG. (c. 19), *fly, flew, flown.* Gill (p. 61), I flj, flv, fled, hav fled, flöun . . . *Volo, volabam, volaui* : (p. 15), *dialectus variat* tu flj, *aut* tu flï.

§ 46. **Freeze.** The pt. *frore* in Cx. is from the ppl. NED. gives *frose* from Fabyan's Chronicle (1494), the earliest for *froze* (with *z*) seems to be from Shaks. *Froze* shows the vowel of the ppl. with the consonant of the inf. In the ppl. Cx.'s *frorn* only occurs once again in the 16th century in the artificial language of Sp., though the form is still common in dialect. NED. gives *froze* for the 15th-19th centuries, but only quotes Shaks. *Froze* is common in dialect. The most frequent form is *frozen* or *frosen*, which does not seem to be in the dialects. It first occurs in the 14th century. Here the *r* which had arisen through Verner's law gives way to *s* introduced from the pt. sg. Weak forms are common in pt. and ppl. In addition to my examples NED. gives ppl. *froz'd* from Linche's *Diella* and *freez'd* from Ford *Love's Sacr.* For the form *frozed*, cf. *chosed* and *cloved*. Both *freezed* and *frozed* are in modern dialects. Gill (p. 59) gives ppl. *Occid.* ifrör *aut* ivrör; *frôə(r)* is still used in western dialects.

Inf. Palsgr. *fryse, -ise* 558; Gasc. *freise* I, 38, *freeze* I, 120; otherwise always *freeze.* **Pt.** Cx. *frore* R. 82; Hall *frised* 120 b; LyP. *freezd* III, 251; Shaks. *froze* Tim. ii. ii, 222; mod. dial.

frēz, frez Yks. n. e. Lan. Nhp., *friz* Suf. Wil., *freezed* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *frorn* R. 94, *forforn* R. 95; Monk of Evesham *froryn* (Arber) 77; Surrey *froosyn* 286, *froson* (v. r. *frozen*) 299; Hall *frosen* 231 b; Ascham *frosen* 82; Hoby *frosen* 119, 167; Gasc. *frosen* I, 90 (3), *-zen* I, 112 (3); LyE. *frosen* I, 251. 257; LyP *frosen* III, 216; Kyd *frozen* (2); Sp. *frosen* i. ix, 25, *-zen* iii. iii, 20, *frorne* SC. Feb. 243; Shaks. *froze* Err. v. 313, 2H4 i. i, 199 (only in pass. or pt.), *frozen* Ven. 565 (13 before noun); AuV. *frozen* Job xxxviii, 30; BJ. *frozen* V. i. v. (2), *-sen* V. iii. vii; Sm. *frozen* 133 (9); Cocks *frozen* II, 13; mod. dial. *frīzn* m. Yks. Wil., *frōrən* Hrt. e. Cy. Wil., *frōz, fruz* from Nhb. to Wil., *frez, friz* from Lei. to Wil., *frō(r)* Glo. Bdf. Hrt. e. Suf. s. & sw. Cy., *freezed* w. Som., *frozed* n. Dev. Cor.

Not in BJG. Gill *inf.* frïz (p. 59), *ppl. Occid.* ifrör *aut* ivrör, *pro* frözn *gelu concretus.*

§ 47. **Seethe.** Cx. has *siede, syedyng* in inf. Römst. (p. 18) explains this *ie* as "ein phonetisches Zeichen, das ausnahmslos nur da eintritt, wo altes geschlossenes, dem *i* bereits nahe kommendes *e* zu Grunde liegt". *D* does not occur in the inf. subsequent to Cx., it probably came there from the pt. and ppl. The OE. ppl. *soden* would normally have given a long *o* in the ppl. and in the pt. form derived from it, cf. *chosen, chose, cloven, clove.* The pt. *sode* in Barc. may be long, though one example is too little to go upon, and the spelling is in any case uncertain. The shortening finds a parallel in *trod, trodden.* Cf. §§ 1, 200. The ppl. *sode* had already occurred in Will. Palerne l. 1849 (Bradley-Stratmann), *sod* is fairly frequent in the 16th century. Nowadays *sodden* means 'wet through'; for the original sense we say *seethed* or *boiled.* Already in Nashe we have *soddẹn* = wet through. Butler conjugates the verb *seethe, sod, sodden* (p. 48).

Inf. Cx. *siede* R. 30, *syedyng* R. 114. **Pt.** Barc. *sode* II, 6; Nashe *sod* CT. I 3 b. **Ppl.** Cx. *soden* D. 12, R. 113, 114; Cov. *sodden* Ex. xii, 9 (o.); LyP. *sod* III, 198; Nashe *sodden* PP. F. 1 b = wet through LS. G. 3; Shaks. *sod* Lucr. 1592, adj. L. L. L. iv. ii, 23, *sodden* H 5, iii. v, 18 (4 times adj.); AuV. *sodden* Ex. xii, 9 (6); Heyw. *sod* II, 240. 294; BJ. *sod* EMH. v. i, *sodden* adj. A. iii. iv. (2); Sm. *sodden* adj. 308; mod. dial. *sodnd* Nhb. Dur. Yks. Notts. Leic. War. Wor.

BJG. (c. 18), *seeth, sod, sodden.* Not in Gill.

§ 48. **Shove.** The pt. *sheef* in Cx. is direct from OE. *scēaf*; *shoof*, *shoef* have the vowel of the ppl. with final voiceless consonant of the pt. sg., pt. pl. *shoue* has voiced consonant because it originally stood between vowels (*i. e.* in the earlier form *shouen*). *Shoffe* in A XII may be a misspelling, or it may denote shortening. Cx. has strong ppl. *shouen*. The weak pt. is already to be found in Cx., and after his time it is always to be found weak, except for *shoffe* quoted above. There are no weak forms in Bradley-Stratmann.

Pt. Cx. *sheef* sg. M. Nvij, *shoof* sg. R. 26, *shoef* sg. R. 95, *shoue* pl. M. i. vj, *shooue* sg. R. 27, *shoued* B. 105 (4); A XII *shoffe* 238. **Ppl.** Cx. *shouen* M. Sv. Otherwise always weak.

§ 49. **Suck.** The pt. *soke* in Cx. shows the vowel of the ppl. Apart from the examples in the lists I have always found it weak.

Pt. Cx. *soke* GB. 193, *souked* FSA. 143. **Ppl.** Gasc. *soken* : *spoken* I, 35, *soked* I, 93.

Class III.

A.

§ 50. The verbs of the first subdivision are those with a stem ending in a nasal plus consonant. In ME. the verbs *ding*, *fling*, *sling* were adopted from ON., and in our period Cx. took *bedwing* and *forsling* from the Flemish, and a new strong verb *string* was formed from the sb. *string*. Weak forms occur in *grind*, *ring*, *run*, *sink*, *sling*, *swim*, *swing*, *wring*; *climb* and *ding* are usually weak. *Bounded* and *grounded*, showing ablaut and a weak inflexion, occur in the ppl. In *begin*, *drink*, *fling*, *ring*, *run* the pt. form appears in the ppl. *Thou fonde* occurs as 2nd ps. sg. pt., also *thou began*. See § 18¼. The development of these verbs varied enormously according to the consonant with which the nasal was combined, this consonant not only affecting the vowel of the pt. but also the ending *-en* of the ppl. In order to illustrate this diversity, it seemed best to present this division of Class III in five subdivisions, *i. e.* those verbs whose stems ended in OE. in (1) *-inn* (including of course *run*), (2) *-ind*, (3) *-ing*, (4) *-ink*, (5) *-imm* or *-im* plus consonant.

§ 51. BJG. (c. 18) says: "And here sometimes *i* is turned into *a* and *o* both. Pr. *win*, Past. *wan* or *won*, *Par. pa.* won. Of this sort are *fling*, *ring*, *wring*, *sing*, *sting*, *stick*, *spin*, *strike*, *drink*, *sink*, *spring*, *begin*, *stink*, *shrink*, *swing*, *swim*." And again (c. 19): "Pr. *find*, *Past.* found, *Par. pa.* found. So *bind*, *grind*, *wind*, *fight*, make *bound*, *ground*, *wound*, *fought*."

In the verbs *drink*, *stink*, *win*, *spin*, *swim*, *ring*, *sing*, *fling*, *spring*, *swing*, Butler gives a pt. in *a* and a ppl. in *u*, without mentioning an alternative form for the pt. (pp. 49-50).

A 1.

§ 52. The pt. sg. of these verbs ended in *-ann* in OE., which normally became *-an* in modern English. Besides, it is often spelt *-on* in our period, but all the rimes to this spelling are with *u*, except once where Sp. rimes with *gon* (FQ. ii. xi, 5). *Gone*, however, often rimes with *u*, cf. § 181. The verbs differ greatly among themselves as to the prevalence of *a* or *u* (*o*) in the pt., and no rule can be made out for this subdivision. In *begin*, *a* is usual, *u* rare in prose and frequent in poetry for the rime, in *run*, *a* is usual, *u* comparatively rare, in spin, *u* is usual, in *win*, *u* (*o*) is much commoner than *a* at the end of the period. For further details, see the discussions below. Participles ending in *-en* sometimes occur at the beginning of the period (*begonnen*, *wonnen* in Cx., *runnyn* in a letter from Gawyn Douglas), but they quite die out afterwards. (*bəgùnən*) is still used in the dialect of south Cheshire.

§ 53. **Begin.** The vowel of the sg. (*a*) is given by the NED. for the plural as early as the 14th century. In Cx. *a* is used in both sg. and pl., although Cx. has a few instances of *-onne*, *-un* in the pl. After Cx. *-an* is usual in both numbers. Forms with *o* in the sg. are given by the NED. from the 12th century. These forms, on the face of it, admit of two explanations, they may either represent a development of OE. *a* to *o* before a nasal, or they may be a mere spelling for *-un*. The first undoubted use of *u* in the sg. I have found in the *Monk of Evesham* (Arber) pp. 96, 98. In the 16th century *begun* is frequent in poetry for the sake of the rime, in prose it is comparatively rare. It is used in modern dialects, while *began* is not. Very curiously *begun* occurs once in AuV. (Nu. xxv, 1) in the pl. As *began(ne)* is used about two hundred times in the AuV., it seemed to me that *begun* might be a misprint in my edition. But my friend, Mr. C. G. Balk, of the Scriptorium, Oxford, has looked it up at the Bodleian in two original copies of the 1611 ed., and finds that they both have *begun*. The Bishops' Bible, on which the AuV. is professedly based, has *began* in this place. In the ppl. *began* occurs in Machyn, Kyd, Shaks. and the Lords' Debates. *Bego(e)*, which occurs three times in CeP.,

is hard to explain. It may be on the analogy of *go* by the side of *gone* in the ppl., though it does not seem likely. Cf. also the parallel ppl. forms *knowe*, *known*.

Pt. Cx. *by-*, *began(ne)* GB. 29 (usual for sg. and pl.), *begonne* pl. C. cj (3), *begun* pl. GB. 247; CeP. *begonn* sg. 131, *be gon* sg. 45; Ellis B *begon* iii. II, 77 (priest), 329 (17th cent. copy), *began* (4); Sk. *begone* pl. : *sun* 389, *began* : *man* 199 (9 rimes in *a*); Fisher *began* 115, *thou began* 178, *thou begannest* 180; Wyatt *began* XIX, 203 : *than* XVIII, 484, *begon* : *done* XVIII, 500; Surrey *begonne* : *ronne* ppl. 303, *begoon* : *doon* 322 (v. r. *begonnne*), *begonnne* pl. 329, *began* : *man* 309, 332; Tott. *began* : *man* 201 (4 rimes in *a*), *begunne* : *sunne* 130 (5 rimes in *u*); Gasc. *began* : *man* I, 98 (5 rimes with *man*, v. o. out of rime), *begoon* : *shoon* 41, *begon(ne)* I, 428. 507 : *sonne* II, 241; Lei. Corr. *begun(n)* 57 (4), *begunne* pl. 216; LyP. *began(ne)* II, 382 (9), *begun* sg. III, 245; Kyd *began(ne)* HP. 6 (27), *begun* (2); Sp. *began* ii. ii, 8 (9 times in rime), *beganne* SI. (3 times in SI.), *begon(ne)* iii. i, 52, SI. 670 (16 times in rime, see Bauermeister § 93), *begun(ne)* iv. iv, 8; v. vi, 9 (both in rime); Shaks. *began* : *man* Ven. 7 (38), *begun*, *begon* Tw. v, 414 (8 times, all in rime with *u*); AuV. *began(ne)* Ge. iv, 26 (c. 200), *begun* Nu. xxv, 1 (*began* only form in Hexapla); Heyw. *begun(ne)* I, 102; II, 114 (12), *begun(ne)* III, 182; II, 114 (in same speech as *began* above) (4); Sm. *began(ne)* 19 (v. o.), *begun* 152; *began(ne)* only form in Lkbsch., Ellis A, C & D, BernH., Cov., Hall, Ascham, Machyn, Harvey, LyE., Dee, Marlowe, Und., BJ., Cocks, Voy. C.; mod. dial. *bagun*, *bagvn* m. Yks. s. Chs. Shr. Bks., *begunned* w. Som., *beginned* w. Som. Dev., *begood* Sc. **Ppl.** Cx. *by-*, *begonne* R. 14 (o.), *bygonnen* GB. 281; Lkbsch. *begon(ne)* (v. o.), *begun(ne)* (5); CeP. *begun* 89, *begoe* 30 (3); Sk. *begon* 153; Ellis A *by-*, *begonne* (3), *begoon* (1), *begunne* (1); Fisher *begon* 9 (o.); Ellis B *begonne*, *begun*, *begoon* (1 each); BernH. *begon(ne)* 179, 520; Cov. *begonne* (o.); Wyatt *begon* : *done* XVIII, 497; Ascham *begon(e)* (2); Machyn *begone* 160, 271, *begane* 271; Tott. *begonne* : *ronne* inf. 5, *begoon* : *roon* inf. 105, *begone* : *sonne* 140 (10 rimes with *u*); Ellis C *begon*, *-onn(e)* (3), *-unne* (1); Gasc. *begone* : *done* I. 61 (3), *begon* I. 147. 465, *begonne* : *ronne* II, 249 (10 rimes with *u*); LyE. *begun(ne)* I, 227; II, 111, *begon* II, 79 (4); LyP. *begun(ne)* III, 76 (4); Kyd *began* HP. 427, *begun(ne)* (12), *be-*

gune Jer. 797; Sp. *begonne* : *donne* (6 rimes with *u*), *begun(ne)* : *donne*, *wonne*, *sunne* iv. Prol. 3 (6); Shaks. *begun(ne)* : *donne* Ven. 845 (c. 22), *began* H 5, v. i, 75; AuV. *begun(ne)* Nu. xvi, 46 (13); Heyw. *begun* : *sunne* V, 159 (15, 6 rimes with *u*); BJ. *begun(ne)* A. i. i. (5); Lords' Debates (Camden) *begann* 109 (date 1624-6); mod. dial. *bəgùnən* s. Chs. (rare), *bəgɒn*, *bəgun* Sc. w. Yks., *bəgiən* m. Yks., *beginned* w. Som. Dev., *əbigɒnd* w. Som., *bəgūd* Abd.

BJG., see § 51. Not in Gill.

§ 54. **Gin.** In OE. there was no simple verb *ginnan*, the form *gin* is shortened either from *beginnan* or *onginnan*. *Gan* is frequently used as a pure auxiliary, in the sense "did". Cf. NED. s. v. In ME. a pt. form *can* occurred in the North and North-midland, NED. says this is affected towards the end of the 16th century by Sp. and his followers.

Pt. A XXVI *gan* 146; Pyr. & Th. *gon* A XII, 19; Surrey *gan* 304; Gasc. *can* I, 84, *gan* I, 53 (v. o.); LyE. *gan* II, 60. 69; LyP. *gan* III, 362; Kyd *gan* Cor. 361 (9); Sp. *gan(ne)* i. i, 17 (5), *can* i. i, 50 (1611 *gan*), ii. xii, 15 (6); Shaks. *gan* Cor. ii. ii, 119 (4), *can* L. L. L. iv. iii, 106; Per. iii. Prol. 36; Heyw. *gan* III, 272 (6); BJ. *gan* V. v. i, SN. iii. ii.

§ 55. **Run.** *Renne* (from ON. *renna*) is the only pres. form in Cx., it comes down in ordinary use as late as Hoby, and Sp. uses it as an archaism. *Rinne*, *rynne* (OE. *rinnan*) occur in CeP., Ellis, Barc., Sk., BernH., Ascham, the letters of Jas. VI, and Sp. Barclay, Ascham and Jas. VI came from the North, and the people who use the forms in Ellis were either northerners or in the North at the time of writing. CeP., Sk., BernH. and Sp. remain the only southerners to use them. *Ron* occurs in CeP. and before 1550 *run(ne)* had established itself as the chief form; Cov. has *renne* and *runne*; but *run(ne)* (*roon* &c.) is the only form that Wyatt, Surrey, Hall, Machyn and Tott. have. Sweet NEG. § 1382 says: "As there is no reason why the regular *rin*, *ran*, *run* should have been disturbed by the extension of the pt. ppl. form to the inf., &c. against the analogy of *win*, &c.; it seems most probable that the *u* of the inf. was originally a Southern development out of *ürnen*, perhaps by the influence of *burn*."

The earliest example of *run* I have found is *runnande* in *Metr. Hom.* (1862) p. 114 (c. 1325); see Bradley-Stratmann. *Runnande* is a northern form occurring in a northern work and is the earliest example of *run* in inf. or pres. So that it cannot be explained from a southern form. I think Sweet makes too much of the analogy of *win*. *Run* was not a simple verb like *win*, it had a great variety of forms, with and without metathesis, some weak, some strong. And this variety of form makes it unlikely that it would be strongly affected by the class to which it originally belonged, and it would also be favourable to the development of new and irregular forms in an effort to bring order out of confusion. The history of *burn* to which Sweet alludes, is itself too obscure for us to draw any conclusions from it with certainty. The rather scanty evidence at present available supports the view that *run* was extended to the inf. from the pt. and ppl. Bülbring (p. 78) gives a weak form *runde* from Layamon A, if this could be proved to have existed in the North, the view would be further strengthened. It would be very easy for *run* to arise as a back-formation from *runde*. The usual pt. is *ran(ne)*, it is from the ON. verb *rinna, renna*, pt. *rann*. *Run* (earlier also *ronne*) occurs as a bye-form in Cx., BernH., Machyn, Marlowe, Manningham, Shaks., Heyw. (for the rime), BJ., *ran* is the usual form in all these writers. *Run* is frequent in mod. dialects. The ppl. is nearly always *run* (*ronne*, &c.). *Renne* occurs in *A Myrroure of oure Ladye*, Hoby and Sp., *ryn(ne)* in BernH. Both forms show the extension of the inf. vowel into the ppl. *Rinned* is the ppl. in the dialect of Devonshire. A weak pt. *runned* occurs in Harvey, it is very common in mod. dial. NED. gives *iranne* from Lydgate, and *ran* occasionally from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

Inf. Cx. *renne* C. c. viij (invariable); CeP. *ron* 106, 123, *ryn* 87; Or. Sap. *rennyng, -en* 356 (3); Ellis A *ren(ne)* i. I, 251 (ambass.), 292 (Sir B. Tuke), iii. I, 216. 217 (Dk. Buckingham); *ryn(ne)*, *-yng* i. I, 225 (Surrey, also used by Wingfield, Dacre and Bulmer); *ron(ne)*, *-yng* i. I, 217 (Surrey 1523), ii. I, 181 (heraldic doct., date 1511), 217 (Adm. Sir E. Howard), *roon* ii. I, 217 (Adm. Sir E. Howard), *run(ne)* i. I, 230 (Surrey 1523), iii. I, 240 (Warham 1521), II, 98 (agent 1527); Sk. *runnynge*:

Rummyng, *tunnynge* 99 (2), *rin(ne)*, *rynne* : *pynne* 251 (5), *ronnes* : *nonnes* 326, *ren* I, 135 (1568 ed.); Barc. *ren* : *men* II, 176 (3), *ryn* : *syn* I, 294; II, 271 : *in* II, 260, *ronne* : *sonne* II, 308; Fisher *renne* 69, *run(ne)*, *-ing* 365 (5, all at end of book); Ellis B *overrenne* ii. II, 192 (schoolmaster, date c. 1550), *runnyng* i. II, 163 (Q. Mary, 1547), iii. III, 245 (State Paper; a. 1540), *ronnith* ii. II, 55 (J. Mason 1535); BernH. *ryn(ne)* 178 (11), *ron* 95; Cov. *renne*, *-eth* Wisd. v (2), *runne*, *-eth* Ezek. xxxiv (3); Wyatt *run* XVIII, 460; XIX, 203; Surrey *roounyng* 295, *roon* 295, *rune* : *begune* pt. 296; Hall *runne* 7 (v. o.), *ronne* 33 (v. o.); Ascham *run(ne)* 198 (14), *rin* 208; Machyn *ronnyng* 78, 80, *rune*, *-yng* 203 (4); Tott. *runne* : *sunne* 165, 247 (12 rimes with *u*); Hoby *runne* 53, 62, *renn(e)* 197, 206 (both v. o.); Ellis C *runne* i. II, 291 (2), (Fleetwood), *roone* ii. III, 122 (agent), *ronneth* iii. IV, 25 (Osborne); Gasc. *run(ne)* : *sonne* III, 113 (9), *roonne* : *woonne* ppl. I, 351, *-yng* II, 300, *roone* : *done*, *sponne* II, 265 (5); LyE. *run(ne)* II, 88 (always); LyP. *run(ne)* II, 320 (always); Eliz. & J. *rinne* 145 (J.); Und. *run(ne)* 17 (always); Sp. *ronne*, *donne*, *sunne*, *wonne* ii. i, 32 : *fordonne*, *wonne*, *shonne* ii. xii, 11, *rennes* Sc. Apr. 118, *renne* June 61, *over-ren* : *men* v. ii, 19; Shaks. *ronne* : *vndone* Ven. 781; Ellis D *run* (always); Heyw. *run* I, 16 (usual), *ronne* : *done* II, 150; BJ. *run* : *done* A. Prol. (always); Cocks *run* 57 (always).

Pt. Cx. *ran(ne)* sg. a. pl. GB. 33 (usual), *ronne* pl. GB. 51, sg. R. 100; Sk. *ran* : *man* 141 (6 rimes in *a*); BernH. *ran(ne)* 18 (usual), *ronne* 299; Machyn *ran* 7 (4), *rane* 79 (5), *rayne* 5, *rune* 83; Harvey *runned* 87; Marl. *ran* E. 220, *run* J. III, 160; Sp. *ran* (usual), *run* : *shun* v. vii, 29; Mann. *ran*, *rann(e)* 81 (5), *run* 130; Shaks. *ran* : *began*, *than* Lucr. 1437 (32), *run* Mcb. ii. iii, 117; 1H4 ii. iv, 287 [Qq. *run*, Ff. *ran*] (4); Heyw. *ran(ne)* I, 275 (11), *runne* : *Sonne* VI, 103; BJ. *ran(ne)* V. iv. (3), *runne* SN. Interm. iii; *ran(ne)* only form in Ellis, Sk., Fisher, Cov., Wyatt, Hall, Ascham, Tott., Tott. B, Hoby, Gasc., LyE., LyP., Und., AuV., Voy. C., Cocks; mod. diall. *run*, *rʊn* n. Ir. s. Chs., Lin. Shr. Brks. e. An. Ken. Sur., *ʊn* Som., *runned* s. Chs. Not. Lin. s. Wal. Brks. Nrf. Dor. Som. Dev. Cor., *ʊnd* Som. Dev.

Ppl. Cx. *ronne* GB. 40 (o.); Ellis A *runnyn* iii. I, 301 (Gawin Douglas), Myroure of oure Ladye *renne* (E.E.T.S.) p. xlix; BernH. *runne* 31, *ronne* 635, *ryn(ne)* 133 (4); Surrey *ronne* : *begonne* pt. 303, *roune* : *woune* ppl., *woon* ppl. 312; Hoby

runn 232, *renn* 249; Gasc. *run(ne)* I, 72 (5), *roone* : *woon* ppl. I, 95 : *begoon* ppl. I, 93, *fordoonne* ppl. I, 403, *ronne, ouer-* II, 101 : *gone* I, 390 : *foredone* I, 360; Sp. *run(ne)* v. ii, 32 (3), *ronne* : *donne* ppl. v. ix, 47 (2), *renne* SC. Aug. 3, Sept. 224; *run(ne)* (occasionally *ron[ne]*) only form in Sk., Cov., Wyatt, Hall, LyE., LyP., Und., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm., Cocks; mod. diall. *runned* Yks. s. Chs. (trans.), Lin. s. w. Cy., *rinned* Dev., *vnd* Som. Dev.

BJG. (c. 18) Pres. *run*, Past. *ron* or *run*, Par. pa. *run*. Gill (p. 60) I run *curro*, I ran *currebam*, I häv run, *cucurri*; *run* is given as ppl. again on pp. 75, 83.

§ 56. **Spin.** The usual pt. at the end of the period is *spun*. BJG. gives either *a* or *o* (see § 51), Butler (p. 49) gives only *span*. *Span* occurs in some modern Yorkshire dialects (see the lists); *spun* itself does not seem to be in the dialects, though *spunned* is found in West Somersetshire.

Pt. Cx. *spanne* R. 15; Cov. *spanne* Ex. xxxv, 25 (3); PPP. *sponne* III, 215; LyE. *spunne* I, 211; LyP. *spun* III, 136; Sp. *span* : *wan* adj., *began, man* iv. ii, 49, *sponne* : *begonne* ppl., *ronne* inf., *donne* ppl. iv. ix, 27, *shonne, undonne, begonne* pt. Sonn. xxiii; Shaks. *spun* Cor. i. iii, 93; AuV. *spune* Exod. xxxv, 25; Heyw. *spunne* V, 149; mod. diall. *span* Sc. e. s. w. Yks., *spunned, spinned* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *sponne* D. 32; Cov. *sponne* Ex. xxxv, 25; Surrey *spunne* 307; Tott. *ysponne* : *ronne* 141; Tott. B. *sponne* 1330; PPP. *spoone* : *begoone* ppl. III, 236; Gasc. *sponne* : *donne* I, 352, *roone, done* II, 265; LyP. *spun* III, 317 : *done* 201; Sp. *spun* iv. ii, 48; Shaks. *spun* 2H6, iv. ii, 31; AuV. *spun* Ex. xxxv, 25; Heyw. *spun* : *Sun* III, 354 (3), *home-spun* IV, 185; VI, 306; BJ. *spunne* V. v. iii, P. to Rdr.; mod. diall. *spinned, əspənd* w. Som.

BJG. see § 51. Gill (p. 29) gives ppl. *spun*.

§ 57. **Win.** *Wan* is the usual pt. down to Gasc., when *won* appears, which at the end of the period is the more frequent form. *Wan* is the only form given in Daines (p. 56) and Butler (p. 49). BJG. gives both *wan* and *won* (see § 51). *Won* is not in modern dialects.

Pt. Cx. *wan(ne)* GB. 53 (v. o.), *wonne* M. g ij (more likely ppl.); Ellis A *wan* i. I, 94 (Dacre), 216 (Surrey); Barc. *wan*

I, 95 : *man* I, 254; II, 117; Ellis B *wanne* ii. II, 109 (Wriothesley); BernH. *wan(ne)* 177 (o.); Cov. *wanne* Prov. vii (o.); Hall *wan(ne)* 20 (4); Ascham *wan* 130 (2); Machyn *whan, wan* 286; Tott. B. *wan* 248, 1332; Hoby *wan(n)* 95, 188; Roister Doister *woonne* (Arb.) 29; Gasc. *wan(ne)* : *man* I, 79. 100 : *can* II, 291; *won* I, 79, *woon(ne)* I, 71. 132 (4), *wonne* I, 389 (3); Lei. Cor. *wann* 167; LyE. *wan(ne)* I, 199. 234; LyP. *won* II, 343; Mann. *won* 49, *wan* 63; Sp. *wan* SC. Jan. 47 (14 rimes in *a*); *wonne* SC. Feb. 65 (12 rimes in *u*); Und. *wanne* 209, *woonne* 251; Shaks. *won(ne)* MV. ii. i, 26 (o.), *wan* 1H4, iii. ii, 59 (so Qq., Ff. *won*); Heyw. *won(ne)* II, 104 (7), *wan* : *ran* III, 182 : *man* VI, 356 (3 more out of rime), *woon* : *done* VI, 335 (3); mod. diall. *wan* Sc. Cum. Yks., *win* Nhb., *wand* m. Yks., *winned* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *wonne* R. 8 (o.), *wonnen* R. 8, 39; Ellis A *won(ne)* i. I, 94 (Dacre) (4); Surrey *wonne* : *sonne* 304, *woune, woon* 312; Gasc. *won(ne)* I, 189 (14), *wone* I, 43. 158, *woon(ne)* I, 95 (5), *woone* II, 88; Harvey *wun* 14, 21; LyP. *woone* II, 358, *won* II, 390 (4); Sp. *won(ne)* iii. vii, 59 (5), *wun* v. vi, 9; Und. *wonne* 15 (4), *woon(e)* 87, 105; GF. *woon* : *done, runne* 217; *won(ne)* only form in Ellis, Barc., BernH., Cov., Hall, Ascham, Hoby, Lei. Corr., LyE., Eliz. & J., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm.; mod. diall. *won* w. Yks., *wan* Sc. n. Yks., *winned* w. Som.

BJG. see § 51. Not in Gill.

A 2.

Verbs whose stems end in *-nd.*

§ 58. In OE. the ending of the pt. sg. was *-ǫnd, -and.* This could develop in early modern English to *-ond* or *-and* (cf. *stand,* § ~~139~~). In our period *bande* is found in Coverdale, *fand* in CeP. and Coverdale, and it is given by NED. from Fairfax's *Tasso* (1600). These forms are still to be found in the northern dialects and in Shropshire, see the lists. Preterite forms in *o* are found for *bind* in Cx., A XXVI and Sp., for *find* very often down to Machyn and in Sp., for *wind* in Cx. and some Bible versions. *Ou* in the pt. is of various origin. In *find* it comes from the irregular form *funde,* which arose in OE. on the analogy of the weak verbs. The example of *funde* may have had something to

do with the development of similar forms in other verbs of this subdivision. *Ou* in these other verbs, however, is easily explained as coming from the pt. pl. and ppl. *Ou* may also have arisen by the lengthening and narrowing of [o] before *-nd*, see especially the discussion of the ppl. below.

In the ppl. the forms in *ou* are of course the regular descendants of OE. *u* lengthened before *-nd*. Forms in *o* are not uncommon for *bind* and *find* at the beginning of the period. Skelton rimes *bonde, londe, vacabounde* (p. 152) once, elsewhere he rimes *bound* and *found* only with certain [*ou*]. Bradshaw in *St. Werburg* rimes *founde* with *londe* (p. 55), *vnderstande* (p. 70), *Englande, Merselande* (p. 27), *fonde* with *londe, vnderstonde, bonde, lande, Ilande* (pp. 10, 41, 135, 185), *bonde* with *londe, vnderstonde, sonde* = *sound* (p. 174, 192). In the *Boar's Head Carol* sung at Queen's College, Oxford, every Christmas, *fonde* ppl. rimes with *vnderstond* and *londe* in one version; another version gives *fande, lande, vnderstande.* (See Flügel's *Lesebuch* pp. 123, 432). *Gronden* is given by NED. for the 16th century, and *bond* and *grond* exist to this day in the dialect of Shropshire. Forms in *o* occur in the ppl. of *bind* and *find* in Spenser, and Gill (p. 129) gives Spenser's ppl. *fond* with [o]. We have good reason therefore to believe that the pt. form in *-ǫnd, -and* had passed over to the ppl. This is strengthened by a curious pun of Ascham's on *fond* (= loving, foolish) and *found* ppl. He says in the *Scholemaster* (p. 188): "These ye will say, be *fond* schole-masters, and fewe they be, that be *found* to be soch. They be *fond* in deede, but surelie ouermany soch be *found* euerie where." (The italics are mine). The pun on *fond, found* is obvious, and it could have had no point if the two words had not been pronounced in the same way. *Fond* could not have had [*ou*], so *found* must have had [*o*].

Participles in *-en* are sometimes to be found for *find* and *grind*. In the case of *bind* a distinction in sense was evolved between those forms with and those without *-en*, which has lasted till the present day. In one or other of the dialects the ppls. of all these verbs end in *-n*, see the lists.

§ 59. **Bind.** For the relations of the forms in *-and, -ond* see § 58. In the ppl. Cx. has *bounden* (v. o.), *bounde,*

ybounde, bunde, bonde. Of these forms *ybounde* occours again in Gasc. and Sp., *bond(e)* in CeP., Ellis, Sk., Machyn and Sp. *Bunde* (not in NED.) occurs again in Ellis. Of the forms not in Cx., *bynden* occurs in Lkbsch. It is not given in NED. but it is in the modern dialects of Nhb. and e. Yks. *Bonden* (not given in NED. later than the 14th century) occurs in *Plumpton Corr.*, in Ellis and in Tott. *Bwndyn* (latest for *bunden* in NED. is 14th century) occurs also in Ellis. The separation in function of the forms *bound, bounden* is the most interesting point in the history of the ppl. Cx. uses *bounden* in all senses, *bounde* = *obliged* twice, = *tied* once, *ybounde* = *tied* twice, *bunde* = *tied* once. After 1500 *bounden* tends to become more and more restricted to phrases implying "obligation", "legally or morally bound". It is also frequent as an adj., especially in the phrases *bounden orator, bounden duty.* In the first half of the century it is also part of the regular signature to a letter, *"Your lordship's most bounden, N. N."* *Bound* on the other hand is used as a ppl. in the sense of "tied". Then it came to be used as the active ppl. in the sense "obliged", while *bounden* was kept for the passive ppl. in this sense. A good example of this is the following from More (Ellis i. I, 196): "wherby I and all myn, as the manyfold goodness of your Grace hath all redy bound us, shalbe dayly more and more bounden to pray for your Grace". Fitzherbert's *Husbandrie* (1534) is the latest book in which I have found *bounden* used consistently in all senses, = *tied* (§§ 26, 27, 31), = *obliged* (§ 145). The writer of the book was an old man, he speaks of having occupied himself with husbandry for 40 years, and he was probably the great lawyer Fitzherbert. (See *Dictionary of National Biography*). These two considerations will account for his attachment to the older form. It is significant that the 1556 ed. of Fisher's works three times changes *bounden* (ppl. = "obliged") into *bound.* At the end of the century, *bounden* is only occasionally used in the signature to letters or dedications. The latest is from Nashe (PP. Preface to the Reader, also on p. G 1). It occurs twice in Shaks. in sense *"beholden, indebted"*, but as passive ppl., not in the active. It is fairly frequent as an adj. in the phrase *"bounden duty"*. It is also used in legal language (*th' aboue bounden* in *Child*

Marriages). Sp. once uses *bounden* = "tied", but that was part of his archaic language.

I have found no weak forms for this vb., but NED. gives *binded* as pt. and ppl. for the 17th century. *Bounded* in Lei. Corr. and Heyw. shows the same mixture of ablaut and weak forms that we have in *grounded* (§ 61). NED. gives a few quotations for this form from the 16th and 17th centuries.

Pt. Cx. *bond(e)* GB. 128, M. kiij (6), *vnbonde* R. 53, 77, *bound* M. g viij (3 in M.), *vnbounde* M. m v; A XXVI *bonde* : *honde* 127, 246; Cov. *bounde* Gen. xxxviii, 28 (c. 13), *bande* Gen. xxii, 9; 2. Kgs. v, 23; Tott. *bounde* : *wounde* sb. 67; Sp. *bound* i. xii, 35 : *drownd, sownd, fownd* v. ii, 16 (2 more rimes in *ou*); *bond* : *hond, fond* pt. ii. ii, 21 : *withstond, brond* ii. viii, 22, *withstond, fond* ppl. vi. i, 16; *bound(e)* (earlier also *bownd(e)* only form in Ellis, BernH., Hoby, Gasc., Lei Corr., LyE., LyP., Mann., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., Sm.; mod. diall. *ban(d)* Sc. Dur. Yks. ne. Lan. Shr., *binded* e. Yks. **Ppl.** Cx. *bounden* R. 78 (v. o.), *bounde* = *obliged* R. 78, M. a j, = *tied* M. g iij, *ybounde* = *tied* B. 170, 113, *bunde* = *tied* B. 186; Lkbsch. *bound(e)* (7), *bounden* (5), *bynden* (1); CeP. *bonde, bownde* (2); Plumpton Corr. *bonden* (Camden) 212; Sk. *bounde* : *hounde* 53, 199, *founde* 239, *bonde* : *londe, vacabounde* 152; Ellis A *bounden, -yn, bownden, -yn* v. o. at end of letters, *bunde* iii. I, 174 (Pace), *bonden* i. I, 124 (Q. Mary, 1514), ii. I. 234 (Earl Worcester), *bwndyn* ii. II, 33 (Wolsey), *bonde* i. I, 274 (Qu. Catharine, 1527), *bound(e)*, *bownd* i. I. 26 (Bothwell) (9) (for the relation of the forms *bound, bounden* see above); Fisher *bound(e)* = *tied* 60, 134 (o.), *bound(e)* = *obliged* 70, 333, *bounden* = *indebted, obliged* 5, 360 [pp. 337, 343, 345 ed. 1556 charges to *bound*], *bounden* adj. 268; Ellis B *bound(e)*, *bounden* v. o., see above, *bonden* ii. II, 53 (Irishman of position), *bonde* ii. III, 161 (Cromwell's daughter-in-law); Hall *bound(e)* in all senses 31, 40 (12), *bounden* = *obliged* 72 (5), *bounden* adj. 230; Ascham *bounden* adj. p. xi, *bounde* 278; Machyn *bune* legally 17, *bond* = *tied* 34, *bone* = *tied* 56, 87; Tott. *bonden* 262, *bound* : *wound* sb. 24, 162; Hoby *bounden* end of dedication 11, *bound(e)* all senses 17, 22 (v. o.); Ellis C *bound(e)*, *bounden* see above; Gasc. *bound(e)*, *bownd(e)* = *tied, indebted* I, 66 (v. o.), *ybound* = *tied* I, 140; *bounden, bownden* adj. I, 38, 279 (4), ppl. = *indebted* I, 436, in dedication II, 1 (5); Harvey *bownd(e)*,

bound = *indebted, tied* 42, 78 (4), *bownden* = *indebted* 170; Lei. Corr. *bounden* in signature 126, 145, *bounded* = *indebted* 163, *bound(e)*, *bownde* = *obliged* 243 (4); LyE. *bounden* in dedication I, 181, *bound(e)* all senses I, 182 (v. o.); Kyd *bounden* adj. ST. 628, *bound* all senses SP. 1050 (13); Sp. *bound(e)*, *bownd* ii. iv, 32 (o.), *unbownd* iii. v, 42, *upbound* iv. i, 3, *bond(e)* : *hond* iv. viii, 21 (3 times in rime with *o*), *bounden* = *tied* iii. vii, 37; xii, 30, as adj. HB. 278, *upbounden* iii. ix, 20, [*bownden* on a voyage i. xii, 18], *ybownd* ii. i, 54; Child Marriages *th' aboue bounden* legal (E. E. T. S.) 147 (date 1591); Ellis D *windbound* i. III, 152 (Mead), *bounde* = *obliged* 163 (Ld. Herbert), *bounden* adj. 260 (Carleton), ii. III, 216 (anon.); Shaks. *bounden* = *obliged* As. i. ii, 298; Jn. iii. iii, 29, *bound(e)* all senses LLL. ii, 165 (over 100); Heyw. *bounded* V, 13, otherwise *bound*; *bound(e)* only form in Barc., BernH., Cov., Surrey, LyP., Eliz. and J., Dee, Marl., Und., AuV., BJ., Sm., Cocks; mod. diall. *bundn* m. Yks., *bindn* Nhb. e. Yks., *bun* n. Yks., *bond* Shr., *binded* Dev.

BJG. see § 51. Not in Gill.

§ 60. **Find.** Notice *thou fond* in Cx. For the meaning of the forms in *-ond*, see § 58. I have not found ppl. *founden* in 16th century, but NED. gives it from *Act 26 Hen. VIII* (1534) and *fownden* from *Richmond Wills* p. 167 (1563). *Fundn* occurs in the modern dialects of Northumberland and mid-Yorkshire.

Pt. Cx. *fond(e)* E. 31 (13 in R., often in GB., 51 in M.), *found(e)* B. 26 (not found in R., 7 in M.), *thou fond* M. k vij; Lkbsch. *fond(e)* (6), *founde* (1); CeP. *fownd* sg. 44, *fon[d]* sg. 50, *fand* pl. 59; Or. Sap. *fonde* 357; A XXVI *fonde* 176 : *londe* 118, *honde, londe, sonde* sb. 231; Barc. *fonde* I, 168. 283; Ellis B *found(e)*, *fownd(e)* (7), *fond* i. II, 58 (Sir W. Kingston); Cov. *founde* Acts ix, 2 (o.), *fande* Hos. xii, 4; Machyn *fonde* 255; Sp. *fond, lond* i. x, 66 (occurs 12 times in rimes with *o*, see Bauermeister § 93), *found(e)*, *fownd* i. x, 22 (v. o.); *found(e)* (in earlier texts also *fownd[e]*) only form in Ellis A, Sk., Fisher, BernH., Surrey, Hall, Ascham, Hoby, Ellis C, Gasc., Harvey, Lei. Corr., LyE., LyP., Dee, Und., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm., Voy. C., Cocks; mod. diall. *fan(d)* Sc., Cum. Yks., *funded* Hrf. **Ppl.** Cx. *founden* R. 34 (usual, 6 in

M.), *founde* E. 163, GB. 112 (4 in M.), *fonden* GB. 64, M. xiij, *fond(e)* GB. 70 (6 in M.), *yfonde* M. Sv.; Lkbsch. *founden* (16), *founde* (21); CeP. *fonde* 64 (3), *fwnde* 27, *found* 9; Or. Sap. *fowndene* 327, 336, *foundene* 337, *fondene* 348, *fonde* 353; A XXVI *fond(e)* 229 : *londe* 257, *fownd* 266; Barc. *found(e)* I, 156 (3), *fonde* I, 199, *newe fonde londe* II, 25; Sk. *founde* : *pounde* 213 : *confounde* 243 : *expounde* 366 : *stounde* II, 46 : *expounde, abounde* II, 80; Ellis B *fond* iii. III, 61 (Lancaster Herold), *found(e), fownd(e)* (11); Machyn *fond* 255; Sp. *fond* : *hond, lond, brond* ii. iii, 18 (frequent rimes in *o*, see Bauermeister § 93), *found(e)* i. ix, 7 (o.); *found(e)* (earlier also *fownd*[*e*]) only form in Ellis A, Fisher, BernH., Surrey, Cov., Hall, Ascham, Hoby, Ellis C, Gasc., Harvey, Lei. Corr., LyE., LyP., Kyd, Dee, Und., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm., Cocks; mod. diall. *fundn* Nhb. m. Yks., *fund* w. Yks.

BJG. see § 51. Gill pt. and ppl. *found* (pp. 110, 117, 122, 123, 146), ppl. *fond* (p. 129, giving Sp. iv. ii, 41).

§ 61. **Grind.** NED. gives ppl. *grounde, groond, grounden, gronden* for the 16th century, and *groune* for the 17th century. A weak pt. and ppl. *grinded* is given from the 16th to the 19th centuries. *Grounded* with ablaut and weak inflexion is given as ppl. for the 17th and 18th centuries.

Pt. Cov. *grounde* Nu. xi, 8; AuV. *ground* Ex. xxxii, 20, Nu. xi, 8 (3); mod. diall. *gran(d)* Sc. Dur. Yks. Shr., *grunded* Yks., *grinded* s. Not. **Ppl.** Cx. *grounden* GB. 213, *-yn* M. bb iij; Barc. *grounde* II, 208; Kyd *ground* HP. 1281, *new-ground* Cor. 1148; Nashe *ground* WT. M. 2 b; Harvey *grownd* 92; Shaks. *ground* Per. i. ii, 58; Heyw. *ground* V, 26; Sm. *grownd* 862; mod. diall. *graundn, grundn* Nhb. n. and e. Yks. Shr., *grond* Shr., *grind* Edb., *grinded* m. Lan. e. Not., *grounded* Cum. Yks. Lan. Lei.

BJG. see § 51. Not in Gill.

§ 62. **Wind.** **Pt.** Cx. *wonde* B. 95; Myrour of oure Ladye *wounde* (E. E. T. S.) 45; Cov. *wonde* Jn. xix (Tindale 1526, Cranmer, Geneva *wonde*, Tindale 1534 *wounde*); Sp. *wound* : *around, found, unbound* vi. xii, 9; Shaks. *woon'd* Jn. v. v, 7; AuV. *wound* Jn. xix, 40, Acts v, 6; GF. *wound* : *drown'd, bound* pt. 180; mod. diall. *wan(d)* Sc. Dur. Cum. Yks. ne. Lan.,

wounded, wundit Sc., *winded* Ayr, Yks. **Ppl.** Palsgr. *wounde* 782; Hall *wound(e)* 8 b; Fenton *wounde* II, 121; Shaks. *wound* Mcb. i. iii, 37 (3); Sp. *wownd* i. xi, 11; Heyw. *wound* IV, 212; BJ. *wound* E. v. ii; GF. *vpwound : sound, round* 130; mod. diall. *wu(n)dən* Nhb. n. Yks., *wun* w. Yks., *win* Dmf., *winded* Sc. m. Yks.

Not in BJG. or Gill.

A 3.

Verbs whose stems end in *-ng*.

§ 63. These verbs are the most difficult of all to interpret. The OE. pt. ended in *-ǫng, -ang* which came down to early modern English as *-ong*. The ppl. ended in OE. in *-ungen,* which became *-ung,* and at the beginning of our period could be written *-ong. O* before *-ng* could under certain circumstances become narrowed and raised to [*u*]; cf. *-ing* from *-eng.* (Cf. Schröer in *A. Beibl.* IV, 5, *Germania* XXXIV, 518-9, see also A. XI, 182, E. St. XXX, 369, Morsbach, *MEG.* § 125, anm. 1, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* II, 75; Kramer *Diss. Lud. Cov.* pp. 9, 18; Schoeneberg p. 8, Horn pp. 49-50). So that when we find *-ong* in pt., there are the following possibilities: (*α*) that it is the usual development of OE. *-ǫng, -ang*; (*β*) that it is OE. *-ǫng* > *-ung,* as in *among*; (*γ*) that it is taken from ppl. *-ung,* spelled *-ong.* When we find *-ang* in pt., that is due to the analogy of other verbs like *begin, began, swim, swam.* It is not to be regarded as a regular development of the OE. form. When we find *-ong* in ppl. it is either a spelling of *-ung,* or taken over from pt. Unfortunately the rimes do not help us in this case, as [*o*] before *-ng* often rimes with [*u*] down to as late as Dryden. Very characteristic for the period are the rimes in R. Chester *Loue's Martyr.* He has *song* sb. : *stung* : *flung* ppls. p. 22; *sprong* ppl. : *throng* sb. p. 66; *toung* : *song* sb. : *among* p. 17; *song* ppl. : *throng* sb. p. 131 : *yong* adj. : *stong* ppl. p. 122; *tong* : *song* sb. pp. 80, 112; *song* sb. : *yong* adj. p. 119. The references are to the 1878 edition (New Shakspere Society). Sp. frequently rimes the ppl. as well as the pt. with [*o*], Shaks. does so once (*song* : *along* Ven. 1095), and *rong* ppl. rimes with *song* sb. in Bolle (p. 234). From these rimes it cannot be inferred that the form of the pt. had gone over into the ppl., because the value

of both members of the rime is uncertain. But there are two certain instances of the pt. in the ppl., *flang* (see NED.) and *rang* (*Child's Ballads* II, 309). When we bear in mind that *-ang*, *-ǫng* itself could become *-ung*, it is easy to understand why *-ung* established itself in the preterite. In *cling* and *sting* *a* is never found, in *swing* only in Cx., in the other verbs it is never the only form, *u* (*o*) is quite as common. On the other hand, modern dialects have *a* in the pt. of *cling*, *fling*, *sting*, *swing*, *wring*, *o* and *u* in *sing*, *u* in *ring*. It must be remembered however that these forms are mostly taken from northern dialects, where *a* is the natural development of the OE. vowel. These forms are not without significance; the hold they had in the North may explain why the preterites in *a* ultimately asserted themselves in certain verbs. In the southern dialects these verbs are usually weak.

A ppl. in *-en* is found in *bedwing* (Cx.), *cling* (Or. Sap.), *ring* (as late as 1533), *sing* (as late as 1555), *spring* (as late as 1560), (*for-*) *sling* (Cx.), *wring* (Cx.). In no case are these forms frequent. The modern dialect of south Cheshire still has *-en* in the ppl. of *fling*, *ring*, *sing*, *spring*, *sting*, *swing*, *wring*. In one or two other northern dialects a ppl. in *-en* is recorded for *fling*, *spring*, *swing*.

§ 64. **Bedwing.** This vb. is found only in Cx. and was taken over by him from Flemish.

Ppl. Cx. *bedwongen* R. 37.

§ 65. **Cling.** The pt. *clang*, though still to be found in the dialects, is not given by the NED. after the 15th century.

Pt. Gasc. *cloong* I, 320; Tott. B. *clong* : *hong* 841; LyP. *clung* III, 203; Shaks. *clung* H 8 i. i, 9; Heyw. *clung* V, 96; GF. *clung* : *tongue* 202; mod. diall. *klaŋ* Dur. Yks. **Ppl.** Or. Sap. *clongen* 372; Heyw. *clung* : *tongue* VI, 164; mod. diall. *kluŋ* w. Yks., *clinged* w. Som.

Not in BJG. or Gill.

§ 66. **Ding.** This verb is usually considered to come from ON. *dengja*, which was weak. *Deng* > *ding*, just as *heng* > *hing* (cf. § 182), and from this inf. *ding* a pt. and ppl. were formed on the analogy of verbs of Cl. III. Björkmann

(p. 207) disputes this derivation, on the ground that *dengja* was weak, and thinks it more likely that *ding* comes from OSw. *diunga* (< **dingwan*), which was strong. But ME. *hing* "to hang" comes from the weak ON. verb *hengja* and formed in ME. the strong pt. and ppl. *hung*. In any case, *ding* has many weak forms, and the strong ones only asserted themselves after a struggle. I have only found two examples of the verb; NED. gives for the pt. *dung* in the 17th century, *dinged* in 16th, *danged* in 16th to 17th centuries, for the ppl. *donge* for the 16th century, *doung* for the 16th to 17th centuries, *dinged* as a southern form in the 16th to 17th centuries, *dung* for Scotland from the 16th century onward.

Pt. Sk. *donge* : *strong*, *sprong* I, 144. **Ppl.** Nashe *dung wet* LS. L 1.

Not in BJG. or Gill.

§ 67. **Fling.** Butler only recognizes *flang* in the pt. (p. 50). NED. gives ppl. *flang* for 17th century, but without quotation.

Pt. Cx. *flang* M. k vij; Ascham *flang* 131; Gasc. *floong* II, 230, *flong* II, 249; Fenton *flonge* I, 261. 271; LyE. *flange* I, 232 [*T*, *rest* flunge]; Kyd *flonge* Cor. 732; Sp. *flong* ii. viii, 49 : *emong*, *sprong* pt. iii. iv, 41; Bolle *flang her* : *anger* in *Liederbücher* 191; Ellis D *flung* i. III, 204 (Mead); Shaks. *flung* Tp. ii. I, 116, *flong* Cor. ii. i, 279, Mcb. ii. iv, 16; Heyw. *flung* II, 231, V, 280; mod. diall. *flay*, *fley* Sc. n. Cy. Yks. Lan., *flinged* w. Som. **Ppl.** Kyd *flung* ST. Bal. 89; Sp. *flong* : *strong*, *wrong*, *along* ii. vii, 30; Ellis D *flung* i. III, 194 (Mead); Shaks. *flung* H 8, ii. i, 25; Heyw. *flung* II, 148 (3); BJ. *flung* P. iii. i; mod. diall. *fluyen* e. Yks. s. Chs. Der., *fluy* w. Yks., *flinged* w. Som., *flɔyd* Edb.

BJG. and Butler, see § 51. Not in Gill.

§ 68. **Ring.** *Rongen* occurs as a ppl. in the *Three King's Sons* (E. E. T. S.) p. 193 (date c. 1500). NED. also quotes it from *Surtees Miscellany* (1890) 34 (date 1533). Spenser's pt. *ringéd* is used in the sense "resound", apparently for the metre.

Pt. Cx. *rang(e)* sg. and pl. R. 26 (o.), *ronge* pl. GB. 201; BernH. *rang(e)* 80 (4); Cov. *range* 1. Kgs. i, 45; Wyatt *rang* :

sang XIX, 419; Surrey *range* : *sange* 300 (Tott. p. 28 *ronge* : *songe*); Hall *rong* 13, 36 b, *rang* 105, 141 (4); Machyn *rong* 49; Gasc. *rang* I, 190; Fenton *ronge* I, 233; Harvey *rang* 13, 16, *rung* 49; LyP. *rong* III, 196 [Blount *rung*], *rang* III, 362; Sp. *rong* : *song* pt., *along*, *throng* v. xi, 34 (3), *roong* MMT. 127, *rung* i. ii, 13 (2), *rang* v. ix, 39, *ringéd* iv. x, 9; Nashe *rung* WT. M 1 b; Ellis D *rung* i. III, 160. 197. 231 (Mead); Shaks. *rung* Meas. M. iv. ii, 78; AuV. *rang* 1 Sam. iv, 5, 1 Kgs. i, 45; Heyw. *rung* II, 288 (3), *rang* III, 128; GF. *rung* 189 : *sung* pt. 206, 230; mod. diall. *ruŋ* Shr., *ringed* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *rongen* B. 162, R. 23; Hall *rong* 112; Child's Ballads *rang* II, 309 (date c. 1550); Shaks. *rung* Mcb. iii. ii, 43, 1 H 6 iii. ii, 16; Heyw. *rung* I, 19, IV, 203; Bolle *rong* : *song* sb. in *Liederbücher* 234; mod. diall. *rùŋən* s. Chs., *ringed* w. Som.

BJG., see § 51. Not in Gill.

§ 69. **Sing.** The late appearance of the ppl. *songen* (Ellis i. I, 190, date 1555) is noticeable. [*Suŋen*] is still the form in the dialect of south Cheshire.

Pt. Cx. *sange* sg. and pl. B. 160, R. 7 (9), *songe* pl. GB. 114, 205, sg. R. 7; Ellis A *song*(*e*) pl. i. I, 186 (priest), sg. ii. I, 240 (agents); Sk. *song* pl. 153; A XXVI *sange* 181, 250, *song* pl. 207, sg. 226 (4); Fisher *sange* 71; Ellis B *songe* sg. i. I, 79 (agent), iii. II, 329 (Archbishop Lee); BernH. *sange* 217, 424; Cov. *sange* Ex. xv, 1 (7), *sunge* Ezra iii, 11, *songe* Rev. v, 9 (4); Wyatt *sang* XVIII, 512, XIX, 444; Surrey see *ring*; Hall *sang* 2 (7); Machyn *song*(*e*) 61 (8), *sange* 159; Ellis C *song* ii. III, 17 (Sir T. Smith); Gasc. *sang* II, 106, *song* I, 52, *soong*(*e*) II, 297 : *tong* II, 248, *sung* II, 133; LyP. *sang* III, 145; Sp. *sung* i. xii, 38 (5), *song* : *yong* i. xii, 7 (3), *soong* : *long* CC. 92; Und. *soong* 135; Bolle *soung* in *Liederbücher* 92; Shaks. *sang* : *hange* Sonn. lxxiii, *sung* WT. iv. iv, 282 (11); AuV. *sang* Ex. xv, 1 (11), *sung* Rev. v, 9 (3) (*T.*, *C.*, *G.*, song(e) 2, *R.* sang 2); Heyw. *sung* I, 243 (4); BJ. *sung* P. iii. i, D. ii. vi; mod. diall. *soŋ* w. Wil., *suŋ*, *sʊŋ* e. and s. e. Yks. s. Chs. Shr., *sunged* Lei., *singed* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *songen* R. 92, *songe* M. C vij; Lkbsch. *songen*; Rutland Papers *songen* (Camden) 16, 22, *song*(*e*) 22, 54; Ellis A *sunge* iii. II, 49 (Pace); A XXVI *songe* 205; Bradshaw *songon* in *Werburge* 146; Ellis B *song*(*e*) i. II, 24 (Lord Keeper), 39 (Cranmer), *sownge* ii. II, 145 (Pery), *songen*

i. I, 190 (bishop, date 1555); Wyatt *song* XIX, 432; Surrey *sung* 326; Cov. *sunge* Isa. xxvi, 1; Hall *song(e)* 2 (19); Machyn *song(e)* 117 (9); Ellis C *song* ii. III, 16 (Sir T. Smith); Gasc. *sung* I, 196, *soong(e)* : *toong* I, 363 (4); LyP. *sung* III, 376; Sp. *sung* vi. x, 28 (2), *song* : *along, throng, strong* iii. ix, 45 (2), *songe* SI. 640, 641; Und. *soung* 162; Shaks. *song* : *along* Ven. 1095, *sung* Mids. N. i. i, 30 (c. 8); AuV. *sung* Mt. xxvi, 30, Mk. xiv, 26 (3) (*G.* songe, soonge, not in others); Heyw. *sung* : *tongue* VI, 346 (8); BJ. *song* : *tongue* P. iii. v, *sung* V. v. viii (4); Cocks *song* II, 31; mod. diall. *suŋən* s. Chs., *singed* w. Som.

BJG. see § 51. Gill gives *ppl.* sung (p. 122).

§ 70. **Sling.** Cx. has also ppl. *forslongen* (R. 10).

Pt. Cx. *slange* R. 55; AuV. *slang* 1 Sam. xvii, 49; mod. diall. *slaŋ* Sc. Yks. War., *slinged* w. Som. **Ppl.** VoyC. *slung* 21; mod. diall. *slinged* w. Som., *slanged* War.

Not in BJG. or Gill.

§ 71. **Spring.** Challoner's ppl. *sprongen* is probably due to the archaism so common in Elizabethan poetry, but *sprungen* is still common in dialect.

Pt. Cx. *sprang(e)* R. 6 (v. o.); Sk. *spronge* : *donge* pt., *strong* adj. I, 144; A XXVI *sprong(e)* 232 (5); Fisher *sprange* 232; Barc. *sprange* I, 5. 6; Cov. *spronge* Heb. vii, 14; xi, 12 (3), *sprange* Acts xvi, 29 (7); Wyatt *sprang* XIX, 204 [Tott. *sprong*]; Hall *sprang(e)* 161 b (3), *sprong* in *Rich.* 3, 27; Tott. B. *sprang* 469; Hoby *sprong* 91, *sprange* 246; Gasc. *sprang* I, 263. 325, *sprong* : *long, wrong* I, 441; II, 291; LyE. *sprang* II, 206; Sp. *sprong* : *strong, along, emong* ii. xii, 10 : *emong, flong* pt. iii. iv, 41 : *song, along* iii. iv, 3 : *rong* pt., *throng* inf. iii. i, 62 (and 3 out of rime), *sprung, out-* iv. xi, 12; x, 10; Shaks. *sprang* 3H6 v. vii, 31, Cor. i. iii, 17, *sprung* Ven. 1168 (6); AuV. *sprang* Mk. iv, 5. 8 (8), *sprung* Mat. xiii, 5. 7 (3); BJ. *sprung* : *young* P. i. i; Sm. *sprong* 93, *sprung* 243 (5); mod. diall. *sprɒŋ* Shr., *sprunged* w. Som., *springed* w. Som. Dev. **Ppl.** Cx. *spronge* M. Bj.; Ellis A *sprongyn* ii. II, 37 (Wolsey); A XXVI *spronge* 239; Barc. *spronge* II, 334; Cov. *spronge* Ps. xcvii (3); Wyatt *sprong* XVIII, 491; Surrey *sprunge* 296; Ascham *sprong* 125; Gasc. *sprong* I, 105 (6), *sprung* I, 402; Challoner *sprongen* in *Elizabeth's Englishings* (E. E. T. S.) 155 (? c. 1560); LyE. *spronge*

I, 287; Sp. *sprong* i. x, 60 : *song* CC. 416, *sprung* iv. viii, 33; vii. vii, 3; Marl. *ysprong*; Shaks. *sprung* H 8 iii. ii, 101 (c. 9), *new sprong* Ven. 1171; AuV. *sprung* Gen. xli, 23 (5); Heyw. *sprung* VI, 332; Sm. *sprung* I, 278 (4); mod. diall. *spruyən, sprùyən* e. Yks. s. Chs., *springed, sprunged* w. Som.

BJG. see § 51. Not in Gill.

§ 72. **Sting.** BJ. allows weak forms as an alternative to strong in his Grammar (c. 20), and a weak ppl. is found in Palsgr., Gasc. and Baret. I have not found *stang* in pt., though BJ. gives *sting* among the verbs that have *a* or *o*. See § 51.

Pt. Cx. *stonge* M. ddvj; Sk. *stung* 134; LyE. *stunge* I, 215 [*C.* stinge]; Sp. *stong* VWV. x, *stung* Epigr. iv; Shaks. *stung* : *tongue* MND. iii. ii, 73, Ham. i. v, 36; mod. diall. *stay* w. Yks., *stunged* w. Som., *stanged* Sc., *stinged* I. W. w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *stongen* M. ddvj, *stungyn* M. eeiij; Palsgr. *styngyd* 736; Tott. B. *stong* 386; Gasc. *stong(e)* I, 46 (3), *stynged* II, 278; LyE. *stoung* I, 212, *stunge* II, 124, *stong* II, 63 (3); LyP. *stung* II, 407; Boret *stinged* in *Aluearie* S. 899; Sp. *stong* ii. i, 3; xii, 73, *stung* Epigr. i; Nashe *stung* SN. G. 1, CT. E. 3; Shaks. *stung* Lr. v. i, 56 (3); Heyw. *stung* II, 182 (6); BJ. *stung* V. ii. v; Sm. *stung* 912; mod. diall. *stùyən* s. Chs., *əstiyd, əstɛyd* w. Som., *stanged* Sc.

BJG., see § 51.

§ 73. **String.** This verb is not in OE., but is a new formation from the noun *string*. I have only found it in the ppl.

Ppl. Hall *strynged* 8 b; LyP. *strung* : *tongue* III, 46; Sp. *strong* : *song* VG. 16; Mann. *strunge* 4; Shaks. *strung* Gent. iii. ii, 78, Lr. iv. iii, 343; AuV. *stringed* Ps. cl, 4 (3); Heyw. *strung* : *sung* II, 148; GH. *unstrung* 72; Chapman *strung with crimson strings* Rev. d'A. 125.

§ 74. **Swing.** Notice the weak forms in Hoby and Fish.

Pt. Cx. *swange* R. 107. M. r ij; Hoby *swynged* 246; Shaks. *swong* R. and J. i. i, 118; Heyw. *swoong* I, 341; mod. diall. *sway* Sc. Lakel. Yks., *swinged* Abd. n. Cy. w. Som. Dev. **Ppl.** Fish *swynged* in 4 *Suppl.* (E. E. T. S.) 69; Nashe *swung*

LS. K 3 b; mod. diall. *swùŋən* s. Chs., *swiŋən* e. Yks., *swinged*, *əswɒŋd* w. Som.

BJG. see § 51. Not in Gill.

§ 75. **Thring.** *Thronge* pt. riming with *stronge* adj. also occurs in the ballad *Adam Bell and Clym of the Clough.*

Pt. Cx. *thrang* M. p ij. **Ppl.** A XXVI *thronge* 121.

§ 76. **Wring.** A weak pt. occurs in Cx. and AuV. (which has a strong ppl.) and a weak ppl. in Tott. B.

Pt. Cx. *wringed* B. 28, *wrang(e)* B. 190, R. 15, M. z ij, *wronge* R. 111, M. i. iij; Sk. *wrange : pange* 52; BernH. *wrange* 355, 428; Wyatt *wrong* XVIII, 473; Hall *wrong* 171; Tott. B. *wrang* 470, 2760, *wroong : sprong* 871; Gasc. *wroong* I, 405; II, 201; LyE. *wrong(e)* II, 98. 129; LyP. *wrong* II, 390, *wrunge* III, 74; Sp. *wroong* MMT. 99 (1611 ed. *wrong*); Shaks. *wrung* MV. ii. viii, 49; Deloney *wrang* Str. Hist. (Percy Soc.) 60; AuV. *wringed* Jdg. vi, 38; Heyw. *wrong* V, 351; Cocks *wrong* 244; mod. diall. *(w)ray* Sc. w. Yks., *wringed* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *wrongen* FSA. 37; Fisher *wrong* 419; Tott. B. *ywrong* 1321, *wroong* 872, *wringed* 380; Hall *wrong* 51; Ascham *wrong* 133; Harvey *wrung* 3; LyP. *wronge* II, 410, *wroong* III, 159; Sp. *wrong* SI. 620; Shaks. *wrung* Ham. i. ii, 58 (4), *unwrung* Ham. iii. ii, 53; AuV. *wrung* Lev. i, 15 (4); GH. *wrung* 122; Cocks *wrong* I, 10, II, 124; mod. diall. *rùŋən* s. Chs., *wringed* w. Som.

BJG. see § 51. Not in Gill.

A 4.

Verbs whose stems end in *-nk.*

§ 77. OE. *a* before *-nk* became *-ank*, *-onk* in ME. At the beginning of the modern English period *-ank* ousted *-onk*. (See Horn, pp. 43-4). When we find *-onk* in the pt. of these verbs, its pronunciation is certainly [*u*], because in nouns like *thank* no *o* is ever found. Nor is there any rime, or anything in the phoneticians or modern dialects to support a pronunciation [*o*]. Towards the end of the sixteenth century *drunk* appears very frequently as pt., and in the pt. of *shrink*, *sink* and *stink*, *a* has almost entirely disappeared. In modern dialects *a* only occurs in the pt. of *slink*, where the other verbs have a strong preterite, it is always in [*u*] or [*ʊ*].

In the ppl. of *drink*, *shrink* and *sink* we see the beginnings of the modern distinction between the forms with and without *-en*. Participles in *-en* are fairly frequent in modern dialects of the North. *Drank* occurs once in the ppl., it was to be common in 18th century English, and it is in the modern dialect of Ayrshire.

§ 78. **Drink.** From the 13th century on in the North, and from the 15th century in other parts of the country, *drank* had been the common form of the pt. Pecock even has pt. pl. *dranken* (p. 319). Caxton generally has *drank* without distinction of number, once he has pl. *dronken* in the List of Contents to Malory. *Drank(e)* is the only form in Fisher, BernH., Tott., Ascham, Hoby, Gasc. *Dronk(e)*, *drounk*, *drunk* occur sporadically in the early part of the century, and about 1590 they become very common. Nashe has only *u*, Shaks. has *a* twice, *u* three times, AuV. *a* 19 times, *u* twice, Heyw. *u* 5 times, *a* once, BJ. *u* 4 times, Sm. *a* twice, *u* once, Cocks *a* 3 times, *o* once, *u* 10 times. *Drank* is not given for modern dialects. For the late appearance of *drunk*, cf. *won* by the side of *wan* (§ 57). It may be partly due to analogy, because the majority of verbs in Class III had *a* or *u* (*o*) in the pt., and *u* (*o*) in the ppl. Preterites with *a* are especially rare in verbs ending in *-nk*. NED. suggests dialect influence, and it is to be noted that *drank* does not occur in any modern dialect, only *drunk*.

In the ppl. the present distinction between *drunk* and *drunken* was not established till quite at the end of the period, and even then it was not observed by all writers. Nowadays we use *drunken* as adj. before a noun, *drunk* as ppl. and for the adj. in the predicate. (*I met a drunken man, who had drunk too much Port, and so got drunk* illustrates the modern distinction in usage). Approaches to the modern usage are occasionally found in earlier works. Cx. has once *"Whan he had dronken of the fruyt of this vygne, hit was so good and myghty that he becam so dronke"* [&c.] (C. e v), but Cx. also uses *dronken* as adj. pred. In Ellis (iii. II, 227) one writer speaks of *dronkyne fryers* and adds on the next page, *"they wer most dronke at nygth"*. PPP. observes the modern distinction with only one exception, where *dronken* as adj.

and adj. pred. occurs in the same sentence. The first writer to observe the modern distinction in all cases is Nashe, and he is followed in this by Heyw., BJ. and Sm. Shaks. still has *drunken* twice as adj. pred. and that the usage was not quite fixed at the end of the period is shown by Cocks' having *drunken* as adj. pred. four times. *Drank* occurs as ppl. in *Penniles Parliament* (Percy Soc.) p. 39, date 1608. It is in the modern dialect of Ayrshire.

Pt. Cx. *drank(e)* R. 49 (o.), *dronken* pl. M. Contents; CeP. *dranke* 89; Ellis A *drank(e)* i. I, 186 (priest), iii. II, 21 (Tunstall); Sk. *dranke : stanke, thanke* 112; Fisher *dranke* 182; Ellis B *drank* iii. III, 82, *dronke* pl. 227 (bad speller: c. 1540); BernH. *drank(e)* 77 (5); Cov. *dran(c)k(e)* Jdg. xv, 19 (16), *dronke* Dan. i, 8 (6); Wyatt *drancke* XVIII, 514; Surrey *drounke* [*v. r.* dronck] 310; Ascham *dranke* 137, *drancke* 151; Machyn *dronke* 61 (3), *dranke* 13; Hoby *dranke* 144 (4); Ellis C *drank* i. III, 40 (Lady Russell), *dronk* ii. III, 54 (Fleetwood); Gasc. *dranke* II, 45 (3); LyE. *dranke* II, 54. 117; LyP. *drunke* III, 192, *dronke* III, 223; Dee *drunk* 46; Sp. *drank : pranke, thanke* v. i, 15, *dronck* iii. ix, 49 : *tronck, stonck* ii. ii, 4, *dronke* i. iii, 20; vii, 6, *drunck* iv. iii, 45, *drunk(e)* i. i, 26; iv. iii, 48; Nashe *thou drunkest* CT. T, 4, *dronke* WT. H3, *drunk* (o.); Ellis D *drunk* i. III, 175 (Ld. Kensington); Shaks. *drank* Shr. Ind. ii, 6, Tit. iv. iii, 85, *drunk* All's ii. iii, 106, 1H4 ii. iv, 168, Ant. ii. v, 21; AuV. *dranke* Dan. v. i, 3 (19), *drunke* Gen. xliii, 34, Dan. v, 4; Heyw. *drunke* II, 158 (5), *dranke* V, 157; BJ. *drunke* V. ii. i (4); Sm. *dranke* 636, 879, *drunke* 954; Cocks *drank* 87 (3), *dronke* 98, *drun(c)k* 179 (10); mod. diall. *druŋk, droŋk* Cum. m. Yks. s. Chs. Shr. Brks., *drunked* w. Som., *drinked* Brks. I. W. w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *dronken* ppl. C. e v, B. 31 (so 4), adj. pred. C. h iiij, *dronke* adj. pred. C. e v, B. 178 (so 5); CeP. *dronk* 46; Or. Sap. *drunken(e)* adj. pred. 327, 389, *dronken* adj. pred. 365, 377; Ellis A *dronken* adj. i. I, 143 (Wingfield), *dronkone* ppl. iii. I, 140 (Earl Suffolk); Barc. *drunken* adj. I, 8. 299 (not II, 299 as Dalheimer has it) (4), *dronken* adj. pred. I, 293, *dronke* adj. pred. I, 96; II, 8, *dronken* ppl. I, 305; Fisher *dronken* adj. pred. 122, 167, ppl. 252; Palsgr. *dronken* adj. 311; *dronke* ppl. 529; Ellis B *dronkyne* adj. iii. III, 227 (bad speller), *dronke* 228 (bad speller), *dronkynnest* 165 (agent), *dronke* ppl. i. II, 108 (agent), *drunke* adj.

pred. iii. II, 190 (anon.); BernH. *dronken* ppl. 66 (5), *drounken* ppl. 86, *dronke* ppl. 117, *drunke* ppl. 773; Cov. *dronke* 2 Kgs. xix, 24 (3), *dron(e)ken* adj. Lam. iv, ppl. Rev. xviii, 3 (*dronke* never = intoxicated, *dronken* is the more freq. form in both senses); Wyatt *dronck* adj. XVIII, 508; Surrey *dronken* adj. 291; Hall *dronken* 4b, *dron(e)ke* 34b, 41, 215 (all ppl.); Ascham *drunke* 48, *dronke* 49 (both adj. pred.); Hoby *dronken* adj. 158, adj. pred. 71, 126, 299; Ellis C *dronke* ppl. ii. III, 30 (Fleetwood); Gasc. *drunke* ppl. II, 313, adj. pred. I, 265, *dronk(e)* adj. pred. I, 392, ppl. I, 63 (4), *dronken* adj. pred. I, 97, *dronken, drunken* adj. I, 178 (6), adj. pred. I, 235; Harvey *drunk* ppl. 144; LyE. *dron(e)ken* adj. I, 188 (3), adj. pred. II, 181 (2), *druncke* ppl. I, 238, *dron(e)ke* ppl. I, 289; II, 55; LyP. *drunken* adj. II, 395, *dronken* adj. III, 119, *drunke* ppl. III, 192. 199, adj. pred. II, 438, *dronk(e)* adj. pred. II, 408; III, 227, *droonk* adj. pred. III, 122; Kyd *drunke* ppl. Jer. 378, *dronk* ppl. HP. 1303, *drun(e)k* adj. pred. Cor. 1593, Ard. 1770; Sp. *drunken* adj. pred. Epith. 254 (3), *dronken, drunken* adj. i. iv, 22 (o.), *dronken mad* ii. i, 52, *dron(e)ke* adj. pred. i. vi, 38 (o.); Und. *drunken* adj. 88, *dronke, drunke* adj. pred. 89 (6); Nashe *drunk(e)* ppl. or adj. pred., *drunken* adj. (v. o.); Ellis D *dronkin* i. III, 105 (Jas. I), *drunk* ppl. 118, 275, adj. pred. 223 (Mead); Shaks. *drunken* adj. Ant. v. ii, 219 (19), adj. pred. 3H6 ii. iii, 23, A. & C. v. ii, 219, *drunk* ppl. Wiv. i. i, 179, adj. pred. Tp. ii. i, 146 (in both senses c. 55 times); AuV. *drunken* ppl. Lam. v, 4 (5), adj. Ps. cvii, 27 (5), adj. pred. 1 Sam. i, 13 (24), *drunk(e)* ppl. Lev. xi, 34 (20), adj. pred. Deut. xxxii, 42 (8); Heyw. *drunken* adj. I, 93 (7), *drunk(e)* ppl. I, 320 (7), adj. pred. (13), *half drunke* adj. pred. IV, 209, *vndrunke* adj. pred. VI, 124; BJ. *drunken* adj. EMH. iii. iii, P. to Rdr., *drunk(e)* ppl. P. i. ii (4), adj. pred. (13); Penniles Parlt. *drank* ppl. (Percy Soc.) 39 (date 1608); Sm. *drunken* adj. 104, 408, *drunke* ppl. 628, 652, adj. pred. 153, 860; Voy. C. *drunke* ppl. 31, *drunken* adj. pred. 60, *drunknes* 61; Cocks *drun(e)k(e)* ppl. 35 (5), adj. pred. 41 (21), *drunken* adj. 72 (11), adj. pred. 161 (3); mod. diall. *druŋkən, drokn, drukn* Sc. n. Cy. w. Yks. s. Chs. Shr., *draŋk* Ayr, *drinked* Brks. w. Som., *ədraŋkt* w. Som.

BJG. see § 51. Gill (p. 61) I drink, *Imperf.* drank, drunk, *Perf.* I hav drunk *paragogicè* drunkn; *drunk* is given as ppl. on pp. 61 and 75.

§ 79. **Shrink.** After Cx. *shrunken* occurs only as an adjective in Sp., who has *shronke* twice as ppl. It seems as if the modern distinction between *shrunk* and *shrunken* had already begun.

Pt. Cov. *shrancke* Gen. xxxii, 32; Hall *shranke* 160; Gasc. *shrounke* I, 442, *shroonke* II, 285; Sp. *shrunck* iii. xii, 10, *shron(c)k(e)* i. viii, 41, ii. xii, 29 (5); AuV. *shranke* Gen. xxxii, 32; Cocks *shronk(e)* 128, II, 182; *shrunk(e)* only form in Und., Nashe, Shaks., GF., Heyw., Chapman; mod. diall. *shrinked* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *shronken* B. 186; Fisher *shronke* 323; Palsgr. *shronke* 705; Gasc. *shrunke* I, 284, *shronke* I, 382, II, 315; LyP. *shronke* III, 224; Sp. *shronk(e)* i. iii, 35 (3), *shrunken* adj. i. ix, 20; Und. *shrunke* 202; Ellis D *shrunke* i. III, 183 *note* (Neve); Heyw. *shrunke* III, 247 (4); BJ. *shrunke* P. i. iii, as adj. E. i. i, SN. iii. iv; mod. diall. *fruŋkən, fruŋkn* w. Yks., *shrinked* Sc. w. Som.

BJG. see § 51. Not in Gill.

§ 80. **Sink.** *Sunken* occurs only as an adjective, *sunk* only as a ppl. in Shaks. and Heyw. On the other hand Voy. C. uses *sunk* and *sunken* indifferently as ppl. The weak pt. *sinked* of Cx. is also in the modern dialect of West Somerset.

Pt. Cx. *sanke* M. b v (5 in M.), *synked* M. dd ij; Barc. *sanke* I, 82; II, 164; Tindale *son(c)ke* Lk. v, 7 (so *C.*, not in other versions); Surrey *sanke* 336; Ascham *sanke* 1, 42; Tott. *sanke* 56, 90; Gasc. *sunke* I, 124; Sp. *sun(c)k(e)* ii. i, 46 (4); AuV. *sanke* Ex. xv, 10, *sunke* 2 Kgs. ix, 24 (4); Heyw. *sunke* I, 349 (5); Sm. *sunke* 143 (3); Voy. C. *sun(c)k* 39, 61; Cocks *soonke* 71, *sun(c)k* 258 (5); mod. diall. *sʉŋk* Shr., *sunked, sinked* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *sonken* FSA. 177; Bradshaw *sonke* : *monke* in *St. Werburge* 201; Cov. *soncke* Jdg. v; Surrey *sunken* adj. 318; Tott. B. *sonke* Pref. 26; 2547; LyE. *sunke* II, 24; LyP. *sun(c)ke* II, 382; III, 307; Sp. *sunck(e)* i. viii, 41 (3); Shaks. *sunk* ppl. Sonn. xii (3), *sunken* adj. Sonn. ii (3); AuV. *sunke* Ps. ix, 15 (3); Heyw. *sun(c)ke* I, 282 (o.), *sunk-in* adj. VI, 167; BJ. *sun(c)ke* D. ii. ii. (4); Voy. C. *sun(c)ke* 107 (2), *sunken* 61 (5); Cocks *sun(c)k(e)* 167 (13), *soonk* 281; mod. diall. *sʉŋkən, sukən* w. Yks., *sinked* w. Som.

BJG., see § 51. Not in Gill.

§ 81. **Slink.** **Pt.** Cx. *slonked* R. 55; Shaks. *slunke* Tit. IV. i, 63; mod. diall. *slaŋk* Sc. Yks., *slinked* Wgt. w. Som. Dev. **Ppl.** *sluŋkon, slukn* Yks., *sliŋkn* e. Yks., *slinked* Dor. w. Som. Not in BJG. or Gill.

§ 82. **Stink.** **Pt.** Cx. *stanke* C. b vij, R. 98; Cov. *stanke* Ex. vii, 21; viii, 14, *stynked* 2 Sam. x, 6; Sp. *stan(c)ke* : *banke, ranke* iv. v, 33, *bancke* ii. vii, 57, *stunck* i. i, 20; *stonck* : *dronck* pt., *tronck* ii. ii, 4;. Nashe *stunke* AA. C. 4 b [*v. r.* stanke], *stuncke* CT. H. 2 b; Shaks. *ore-stunck* Tp. iv, 184; AuV. *stunke* Ex. vii, 21 [*RV.* stank], *stanke* Ex. viii, 14; xvi, 20, 2 Sam. x, 6; BJ. *stunke* V. v. vii, *stunkst* P. iii. iv; mod. diall. *stɵŋk* Shr., *stinked* w. Som. **Ppl.** not found; mod. diall. *stuŋkən, stùŋkən* m. Yks. s. Chs. Shr., *stinked* w. Som.
BJG. see § 51. Not in Gill.

§ 83. **Swink.** **Ppl.** Sp. *forswonck* SC. Apr. 99; Milton *swinkt* Comus 273.

A 5.

Verbs whose stems end in *-mm, -m* or *-mb*

§ 84. These two (*climb* and *swim*) will be discussed separately.

§ 85. **Climb.** The OE. inf. was *climban*. The *i* was lengthened before *-mb*, hence the modern English [*ai*]. NED. says that there are no certainly long forms before the 16th century. In our period [*ĭ*] is found in rime in Tott., Levins and Sp. (1). Bullokar gives it three times (pp. 95, 96, 155). It is frequent in modern dialects (Wright, pp. 379-80). Rimes with [*ī*] are found in Wyatt, Sp. (4), Shaks. and BJ. Gill (p. 60) and Daines (p. 28) give a long vowel, and it is also found in modern dialects, but not so frequently as the short one.

The OE. pt. *clamb, clomb* normally > *clōmb* (cf. *comb, womb*) in the South. ten Brink gives *clōmb* as Chaucer's pt. (§ 139). *Clomb* is found in Gasc. and Sp. NED. also gives *clome* for the 17th century and says "Elizabethan archaists affected a pa. t. and ppl. *clome, cloame, clōmbe* which they

appear to have taken from Chaucer or Lydgate and mistakenly pronounced with long *ō*. (In the ME. *clomb(e)* *o* was either short or more usually a graphic expedient for *u* before *m*: and in the dialects in which *clom* has come down the *o* is short)." Against this, it may be said that Gill gives *klōm* (with long *ō*) as being used *apud rusticos* (p. 60) and BJ. puts *climb* with the verbs of Class I, i. e. those which have [*ō*] in pt. See § 7. BJ. was not in the habit of recording merely poetical forms, so that it is pretty certain, although *clomb* has only been found in poetry for the 16th century, that there was an actual spoken form with [*ō*], which has since died out. That [*klum*], however, did also exist is proved by Gill, who says it is used *apud rusticos* (p. 60). This [*u*] comes of course from the ppl. and it has not survived into modern dialects.

In ME. a form with [*ă*] arose on the analogy of other verbs of this class; this form is to be found in Cx., Cov. and Gasc., and it is still in modern dialects. In later ME. this [*ă*] was lengthened on the analogy of verbs of Cl. IV and V; this (long *ā*) is found in BernH., Hall, Ascham and Sp., and it is mentioned by Gill as being used *apud rusticos* (p. 60). BJ. also gives a form *climb* (see § 7). He puts this among verbs of Cl. I (with *smit, rid, bid, writ*), so he obviously intends it to have [*ĭ*]. It does not occur elsewhere in the 16th century, this may be accounted for by the difficulty of distinguishing it in writing from inf. It is in the modern dialect of Renfrewshire. Cov. also has ppl. *clymmen* (not occurring again in literature or in modern dialects), so *clīmb, clĭm, clĭmmen* would go exactly like *wrīte, wrĭt, wrĭtten*. The ppl. had *u* in OE. This survived into the 16th century as *clum*, given in NED. without quot. *Clombe* occurs in Gasc., and NED. gives *clom* from Strype. The vowel here may be either [*o*] or [*u*]. [*u*] would be the natural descendant of the OE. participial vowel. [*o*] might be explained as coming from a form of the pt. in a dialect where *o* had not been lengthened before *-mb*. *Klom, klommen* with [*ŏ*] are frequent in modern dialects, so there is no great difficulty in assuming [*ŏ*] for Elizabethan times.

NED. also gives *cloame* (rime *roame*) from *Mirr. Mag.* (1610) and *clome* (rime *Mome*) from Drayton's *Odes* (1619). Here we certainly have the vowel of the pt., and, so far as

we can see, the forms were used merely for the rime. Though the number of strong forms discussed here is large, the weak ones were more common in the 16th century and they are the only forms which occur in Shaks. and AuV. Gill gives the weak forms as *regulare* (p. 60); and the strong forms as being used *apud rusticos.*

Inf. Cx. *clymme* R. 84; Barc. *clym* I, 140; Palsgr. *clymme, clyme* 487; Cov. *clymme* Jn. x, 1 (2); Wyatt *clyme* : *tyme* XVIII, 287; Ascham *clyme* 19; Tott. *clim* : *swim* 156; Hoby *clime* 45, 76; Gasc. *clymeth* I, 116; Levins *climme* : *limbe* sb., *dimme* verb, *skimme* verb 131; LyE. *climbinge* I, 189; Sp. *clim* : *swim, him* iii. iv, 42, *clymbe* i. xi, 51, *clime* : *pryme* i. iv, 17, *lime, slime, time* ii. ix, 21 (Bauermeister found 4 long rimes); Shaks. *clime* : *crime, time* Lucr. 775; Heyw. *clime* III, 229, 279; BJ. *clime* : *time* P. iii. v; GH. *climbe* 54. **Pt.** Cx. *clymmed* R. 27, *clamme* R. 87, M. l vij; BernH. *clame* 652; Cov. *clamme* 1 Sam. xiv, 13, *clymmed* Lk. xix, 4 (2); Hall *clame* 42 b, *clymed* 134 b, 262; Ascham *clame* 45; Gasc. *clambe* I, 27, *clombe* II, 89. 289; LyP. *climbde* III, 126; Kyd *climbed* Ard. 1234; Sp. *clomb(e)* i. x, 49, ii. vii, 57 (6), *clambe* : *came* ii. vi, 8 [Liese wrongly gives ii. vii, 8]; Shaks. *climb'd* 3 H 6 ii. ii, 31; AuV. *climed* 1 Sa. xiv, 13, Lk. xix, 4; Cocks *cleamed* 226; mod. diall. *klam, klom* Sc. n. Cy. Lan. Chs. Nhp. Shr. Hrf. Hmp. Dor., *klim* Rnf., *clombed* Bch. Abd. w. Som., *climbt* Bch. Abd. **Ppl.** Palsgr. *clymmed* 487; Cov. *clymmen* Jer. ix, 21; Ellis C *clymed* i. III, 40 (Lady Russell), Gasc. *clombe* I, 108; Shaks. *climbed* Sonn. vii (3); mod. diall. *klomən* Nhb. Shr., *klom* Sc. Nhb. Cum. Yks. Chs. Nhp. Shr., *clombed* Bch. Hbd. w. Som.

BJG. see § 7. Gill (p. 60) says: "I kljm, I kljmd, I häv kljmd *scando, est regulare Primae [coniugationis]: apud rusticos autem pro imperfecto habes* I klöm, I kläm, I klum, *scandebam.*"

§ 86. **Swim.** The pt. *swom* was probably pronounced with [*u*]. It is scarcely likely that we have here [*o*] from the influence of the *w* on the *a*, as it is early for that. But cf. *wosse* (§ 130), *wosshe* (§ 154). *Swom* is found in the dialect of w. Yks. *Swame* and *swome* in Cx. and Heyw. respectively, cannot be taken as long forms, unless others are found to support them. BJ. has the rime *swame* : *came* in the Masque called *Barriers,* so the *a* may have been long in

Heyw. Shakespeare's ppl. *swam* is also in the modern dialect of Kerry. The ppl. *swem* in Voy C. is hard to explain. It may be a mis-spelling for *swam*. Diehl gives a few instances of *e* being written for *a* (p. 9). In this case it would afford another parallel to Shakespeare's use. If it was written for *swim*, the vowel may be explained as coming from the inf., cf. ppl. *clymmen* in Cov., and *swimən* in the dialect of east Yorkshire. Weak forms are fairly common in pt. and ppl. Gill's regular conjugation (*swim, swam, swum*) is noticeable.

Pt. Cx. *swam* R. 18, *swame* R. 17, *swamme* M.; Cov. *swamme* 2 Kgs. vi; Wyatt *swymmed* XVIII, 512; Gasc. *swumme* I, 124; PPP. *swam* I, 140; Marl. *swom* D. II, 259; Sp. *swam* v. iv, 41 : *came, Ram, ysame* vii. vii, 32; Und. *swam* 54, *swimmed* 88, 90; Nashe *swomme* LS. C 1; Shaks. *swam* Tp. iii. ii, 16, *swom* Gent. i. i, 26; Heyw. *swamme* II, 184, *swome* IV, 29; mod. diall. *swom* w. Yks., *swɒm* s. Chs. Shr. e. An., *swammed* w. Som., *soomed, swummed* Sc. w. Som., *swimmed* w. Yks. n. Lin. Brks. e. An. Dev. **Ppl.** Cov. *swymmed* Acts xxvii, 42 [*T., C., G.* swome, otherwise in R. & AuV.]; Tott. *swimmed* 85; Gasc. *swomme* I, 217; Baret *swimmed* in *Aluearie* S. 1189; Marl. *swum*; Shaks. *swam* As iv. i, 38, *swom* Tp. ii. ii, 133; Voy. C. *swem* 64; mod. diall. *swimən* e. Yks., *swam* Ker., *swimmed, swummed* Sc. Brks. w. Som. Dev., *əswamd* w. Som.

BJG., see § 51. Gill (p. 61) gives I swim *nato*, I swam *natabam*, I häv swum, *nataui*.

B.

§ 87. The other divisions of Cl. III in OE. contained verbs whose stems ended in *l* + cons., *r* or *h* + cons., and a few unclassified ones like *berstan* and *ðerscan*. I have here put them in two classes (1) those verbs ending in OE. in *l* + cons., (2) the other verbs.

B. 1.

Verbs ending in *l* + cons.

§ 88. These are *delve, help, melt, swallow, swell, yield*. All of these are more or less strong in Cx., but become weak, except for a few special forms, in the 16th century. *Melt* and *swell*, in especial, developed a weak pt. and ppl., at the

same time keeping the strong ppls. *molten* and *swollen*. *Help* was usually weak, but pt. *holp*, ppl. *holp*, *-en* were not uncommon in poetry. For further details, see the separate discussions.

§ 89. **Delve.** NED. gives pt. pl. *dalff* from Cx. (*Faytes of A.* i. xxxv, 153), *doluen* from *Gold. Leg.* 57/1, *dolve* (with vowel of ppl. or pt. pl.) from Barckley (*Felic. Man.* (1603) 66). Cx. also has pt. *delued* (*Æsop* ii. v.). Ppl. *doluen* is given by NED. as late as Golding's *De Mornay* (xi, 159, date 158.). *Delfe* ppl. is given from *Percy Folio* I, 445.

Pt. Cx. *daluest* R. 41. **Ppl.** Cx. *doluen* R. 36, GB. 201, 274; A XXVI *doluen* 158.

§ 90. **Help.** The strong pt. *halp* is still found in Cx. and CeP. A form *heelpe* is found in Cx. This probably arose on the analogy of the reduplicating verbs, cf. *yelde*, § 94 below. *Helpe* occurs once in Sk. (where the printer of 1568 changed the MS. reading of *help* to *holp*) and *Eliz. and Jas.* in a letter from Elizabeth. The ppl. *help* is also used by Elizabeth, *elp* is still the ppl. in East Anglia and Sussex, and *elpn* in East Yorkshire. The vowel may be long in Skelton and Elizabeth's form, but it is more probably short. If so, the form arose through analogy with weak verbs like *send* (which sometimes had pt. and ppl. *send*), also perhaps by the influence of *melt*, which sometimes had pt. and ppl. *melt*.

Holp (with the ppl. vowel) had already been used in the *Paston Lett.* (I, 170) in the sg. Cx. and CeP. have it only in the pl., but after 1500 it becomes the regular strong form of the pt. The weak forms are much more numerous than the strong ones, except in particular writers, like Kyd and Shaks., who is here contrary to his custom archaic. BJG. says "*holpe* is seldom, save with poets". See § 104. *olp* is very frequent in the dialects.

The strong ppl. is commoner than the strong pt. That it is not a mere literary form is shown by its occurrence in Cocks. It is still in dialect use. *Holp(e)* (found already in the 14th century) occurs in Cx., Tott. B., Kyd and Shaks., it is fairly frequent in poetry; *olp* is in the modern dialects of Northampton, East Anglia and Kent. *Holpt* is given by the

NED. from Stanyhurst's *Æneis* and Topsell, it is in the modern dialects of Scotland, Northampton, East Anglia and the Isle of Wight.

Pt. Cx. *heelp(e)* sg. and pl. GB. 20, R. 69 (8), *halp(e)* sg. B. 25, R. 96, M. dv (o. in M.), *holpe* pl. FSA. 110, 384, M. ee iij, *helped* E. 116, B. 50, 66, R. 15; CeP. *halpe* sg. 145, *howllpe, howlp* pl. 136; Sk. *help* I, 8 (so MS., *Marshe* (1568) prints *holp*), *helpt* 400; Tott. B. *holpe* 1058; Eliz. & J. *help* 155; Kyd *holpe* Cor. 302 (7); Shaks. *holpe* John i, 240 (9), *help'd* R3 v. iii, 167, *helpt* Oth. ii. i, 138; *helped, helpt* only form in Cov., Hall, Ascham, Gasc., Lei. Corr., LyE., Sp., Dee, Ellis D, AuV., Heyw., BJ.; mod. diall. *olp*, *ōp* Sc. (*obs.*), Chs. s. Stf. nw. Der. Nhp. Shr. Glo. Suf. Ess. Ken. Sur. Sus., *holped* Ess. Ken. **Ppl.** Cx. *holpen* R. 77 (o.), *holpe* (Römst.), *helped* B. 149; Lkbsch. *holpen*; CeP. *hollpyn* 15, *hellpyt* 10; Or. Sap. *holpen* 359, 389; Ellis A *hoplen* i. I, 304 (Clerk), *hol(l)pyn, -en* II, 6 (Wolsey) (3), *helpyd* iii. I, 182 (bishop); Fisher *holpen* 273, 360; Ellis B *holpen* iii. II, 285 (Vaughan); Cov. *helped* 1 Chr. xvi (o.); Hall *holpen* 107 (3); Ascham *holpen* 15, *helped* 184; Machyn *helpyd* 153; Tott. B. *holpe* 580; Hoby *helped* 74; Ellis C *holpen* i. II, 299 (Fleetwood), iii. IV, 74 (Wolley); Lei. Corr. *holpen* 310, 389, *helpt, -ed* 312 (3); Eliz. & J. *help* 115; Kyd *holpe* ST. 1352; Sp. *helped*, also *holpen* vi. viii, 25; Dee *helpt, -ed* 23 (3), *holpen* 70; Shaks. *help'd* WT. iii. iii, 110. 113 (4), *holpe* Tp. i. ii, 63 (9); AuV. *helped* 1 Chr. v, 20 (5), *holpen* Ps. lxxxiii, 8 (5); Heyw. *helpt* I, 5, VI, 101; BJ. *helpt* A. iv. vii, SN. i. v; Cocks *holpen* I, 199, II, 95; mod. diall. *olpn* s. Chs. Rut. Shr. (*obs.*), *elpn* e. Yks., *olp* Nhp. e. An. Ken., *elp* e. An. Sus., *elpnd* n. Yks., *holpt* Sc. Nhp. e. An. I. W.

BJG. see § 104. Not in Gill.

§ 91. **Melt.** NED. records a pres. *moults* from Barnes' *Parthenophil* Sonn. xliv, riming with *bolts*. This was formed from pt., probably just for the rime. Cx. once has pt. sg. *malte* (*Recuyell* 18), otherwise pl. *molte*. *Molte* in the 16th century "is used poetically by a few writers". (NED.) NED. also gives pt. *molted* from Cartwright and Martin, and *melte* for the 15th and 16th centuries, which is probably a weak form. In the ppl. *molten* was common throughout the century. Cov. and AuV. used *molten* both as ppl. and adj., *melted* only

as ppl. Sp. has *molten* only as adj., Shaks. uses *molten* as adj. three times of metals, *melted* as ppl. and as adj. once of snow. BJ. uses *melted* as ppl., *molten* as adj. once each. *Multe, -yn* probably have the vowel *u* by the influence of the *l* (Bülbring p. 80). NED. gives ppl. *melt* for the 15th to 17th centuries, and *molted* for the 16th century. Lylly once has *melten* in ppl., a form peculiar to himself and in the later editions it is altered to *melted.* This was probably formed on the ppl. *melt,* by the analogy of *molt* and *molten.*

Pt. Cx. *molte* pl. GB. 32; Cov. *melted* Ex. xvi, 21, Jdg. v, 5; Sackville *molte* in *Mirr. Mag.* Induct. lxxviii; LyP. *melted* II, 464; Shaks. *melted* Mcb. i. iii, 81 (so always); Sp. *moulte* ii. v, 8, *melted* v. iii, 24; AuV. *melted* Ex. xvi, 21 (always); Heyw. *melted* VI, 151. 153; BJ. *melted* SN. v. i; Cocks *melted* II, 5. **Ppl.** Cx. *molten* C. g ij; Monk of Evesham *multe* (Arb.) 62, *multyn* 83; Ellis A *moult* iii. II, 205 (Wolsey, quoted in Cavendish's *Life*); Lkbsch. *molten*; Palsgr. *molten* adj. 319/1; Cov. *melted* ppl. Ezek. xxii, 21, *molten* ppl. 1 Kgs. vii, Job xxviii, 12, adj. Ps. cvi, Ho. xiii (o.); Lei. Corr. *molten* ppl. 295 (Burghley); PPP. *molten* ppl. III, 340; Eliz. Eng. *molten* adj. 33; LyE. *melten* I, 310 [*E, rest,* melted], *melted* II, 111 (3); LyP. *melted* II, 388, III, 47; Sp. *molten* adj. i. vi, 6, viii, 9, ii. vi, 27, *ymolt* iii. xi, 25; Nashe *melted* ppl. LSW. H4; Shaks. *melted* ppl. All's iii. vi, 40 (12), *molten* adj. Tim. iii. i, 55 (3); AuV. *moulten* ppl. Isa. xliv, 10, *molten* ppl. Micah i, 4 (3), adj. Jdg. xvii, 3. 4 (38), *melted* ppl. Ps. xxii, 14 (6); Heyw. *melted* III, 303; BJ. *melted* ppl. D. iii. iii, *molten* adj. SN. i. iii; Chapman *melted* ppl. Rev. d'A. 134 (3).

Not conjugated in BJG. or Gill.

§ 92. **Swallow.** Only weak, except in the example from Cx.

Ppl. Cx. *swolowen* R. 95.

§ 93. **Swell.** I have not found any trace of a strong pt. after Cx., though the strong ppl. is commoner than the weak one. *Solne* in Starkey shows the same dropping of the *w* before *o* which Cooper (1685) and Johnston (1764) instance for *sworn* (see Horn, p. 141). Machyn's spelling *swone* and the rime *swolne* : *bemone* in Tott. testify to disappearance of *l.*

This disappearance usually took place because a *u* developed between *o* and *l* + guttural or labial (see Horn, pp. 176-7), but cf. *stowne* for *stolen* (§ 108).

Pt. Cx. *swalle* M. Viiij; after Cx. only weak in pt.; mod. diall. *swōl* Inv. w. Yks. **Ppl.** Cx. *swollen* Chas. Gt. 72, GB. 75, 107; Ellis A *swollne* ii. I, 341 (priest); Starkey *solne* (E. E. T. S.) 32, 79; Palsgr. *swollen* 745; Ellis B *swollen* iii. III, 77 (Layton); Cov. *swollen* Acts xxviii, 6, *swelled* Isa. xliv; Wyatt *swolne* XVIII, 460 (1 syll.); Machyn *swone* 266; Tott. *swolne* : *bemone* 28; Gasc. *swolne* I, 321 (1 syll.); Fenton *swelled* ppl. I, 156; LyP. *swelde* III, 133, *swollen* III, 134, *swolne* III, 156, 307; Mann. *swollen* 33; Sp. *swoln(e)* i. xi, 8 (3, all 1 syll.), *swollen* adj. i. i, 52, ppl. xii, 14 (2 syll.); Und. *swollen* 105, *swolne* 182, 191; Nashe *swolne* adj. PP. E 2 b, WT. E 1 b, *swelled* ppl. CT. L 3; Ellis D *swolne* i. III, 182 (Mead); Shaks. *sweld* Mds. i. i, 216, *swelled* Wiv. iii. v, 18 (3), *swolne* Ven. 325 (6, all 1 syll.); AuV. *swollen* Acts xxviii, 6 (*T., C., G.* swolne); Heyw. *swell'd* I, 333 (3), *sweld* II, 347, *ore-swoln* I, 5, *swolne* adj. III, 373, VI, 314 : *stolne* VI, 211; BJ. *swell'd* ppl. E. iv. iv; Sm. *swolne* 114, 764, *swolen* 419; mod. diall. *sweln* m. Yks., *swōl* Inv., *swelled* w. Yks., *swalled* Sc.

§ 94. **Yield.** Smith gives the inf. as "yild *vel* ield" (p. 37). Cx. has pt. *yeld(e)*. Dibelius explains this as "lengthened analogically" (§ 254). *Yold(e)* occurs in Cx. and Sp., from OE. *ȝōlde*, cf. *hōlden*, *hōlde*. (Bülbring, p. 79). Ppl. *yolden* preserves the original vowel, it occurs as late as Gasc. The shortened form *yolde* occurs in Sp.

Pt. Cx. *yelded* C. d iij, M. e vj (4), *yeld(e)* M. a iij, e vj, *yolde* sg. M. k vj; Sp. *yold* iii. xi, 25, *yielded* iii. i, 21, *yeelded* iv. ix, 15; otherwise always weak; mod. diall. *jald* Sc. **Ppl.** Cx. *yolden* GB. 169, M. nj (o.), *yelden* C. h v, M. cc viij (3), *yelded* M. Dv, d ij; Lkbsch. *yolden* (4), *yelden* (6), *yeilden* (1); A XXVI *yolden* 221; Ellis B *yelded* iii. II, 345 (Abp. Lee); Surrey *yeldon* 293 [*v. r.* yolden], *yolden* 314 [*v. r.* golden]; Hall *yelded* 67 (6), *yelden* 192; Tott. *yelden* 62; Ellis C *yelded* ii. III, 45 (Welshman); Gasc. *yeelded* I, 4. 90, *yelded* I, 435, *yelden* I, 316, *vnyelden* I, 277, *vnyolden* I, 398. 403; Lei. Corr. *yealded* 435 (St. P.), *yelded* 55 (Burghley); LyP. *yeelded* II, 342, III, 308; Sp. *yielded* ii. iv, 40, *yeelded* iv. i, 12, *yold(e)* iii. xi, 17 :

enrold, *holde* vii. vii, 30; Ellis D *yielded* i. III, 131 (Mead); Shaks. *yeelded* R 3, iii. i, 98 (always); AuV. *yeelded* Rom. vi, 19; Heyw. *yeelded* VI, 140; BJ. *yeelded* SN. v. ii; Sm. *yeelded* 784; mod. diall. *jaudn* Sc.

B 2.

Miscellaneous Verbs.

§ 95. These include *burn*, *burst*, *fight*, *thresh*, *worth*. It is impossible to generalize on them; for details see the discussions.

§ 96. **Burn.** There is a great difficulty about the origin of this form. Sweet (NEG. § 1304) says: "The infin. *burnen* seems to occur first in Late Midland, the *u* is either taken from the old pret. partic. or is more probably the result of the influence of the lip-consonant *b* on the following *eo* of the Anglian *beornan*." Brugger (p. 312) says: "NE. *burn* möchte ich nicht von AE. *beornan* ableiten (béornan > beórnan > bōrnen > būrn > burn > bərn > bə̄[r]n). Unter den vielen änderungen wären besonders der accentwechsel und die schreibung mit *u* (fälle wie NE. *rudder*, *silly*, *riddle* sind eben doch ausnahmen) verdächtig. *burn* ist wohl eher durch *r*-metathese aus **brun* (cf. *brən* inf. Ellis 286) entstanden, welches seinerseits ähnlich zu erklären ist wie NE. *run*." The question is much complicated by the difficulty of discovering when and where *burn* first arose. NED. gives it in the form-list for the 15th century but without a quotation for that date. Bradley-Stratmann do not give it and the only example I have found before this period is the inf. *burne* in *Towneley Myst.* p. 57 (reference from Wackerzapp), but the *Towneley Mysteries* have *bren* five times, once in rime. The great difficulty about the theory that it comes from ppl. is the want of connecting forms, as the NED. points out. The OE. ppl. *bornen* did not survive the OE. period, and the old strong pt. is not found later than the 13th century. (See NED. and Bülbring, p. 78). And in the same way, the absence of any intermediate forms makes a derivation from OE. *beornan* very doubtful. Brugger's derivation from a form **brun* has one or two points in its favour. A ppl. *bruntt* really does occur in Ellis (i. I, 107), and *brunde* occurs three times in Palsgr.

(p. 429), and *brunt* once in Gasc. *Brun* is in the modern dialect of n. Der., *brùn* in s. Lan., *brʊn* in e. Suf. But this does not clear up the difficulty. It only pushes it one step further back. The *u* has still to be accounted for. Could it have arisen by the influence of *b* on *i* before *r*? *Birn* is a not uncommon form in the 15th century. In West Saxon *birnan* could turn into *byrnan*, and this, in Late OE., into [*burnan*]. Cf. Bülbring's *Elementarb.* §§ 273, 280, 283 Anm. 2. We find *burne* for *birne* (= pear) in some German dialects. In Wright's *E. D. D.* we find *burk* and *birk*, *burle* and *birle*, *bur* and *birr*, *brit* and *burt* side by side, though *ur* and *ir* may denote the same sound here, the sound in modern *bird* or *burn*. Compare further *busshop* for *bishop* (NED.) and Sweet's pronunciation [tʃuldrən] for *children* (HES. p. 298/453). Possibly *burn* may have been influenced by *burst*. It had the forms *brast*, *brest*, *brist*, *brust*, *burst*, while *burn* had *bran*, *bren*, *brin*, *brun*. Cf. also the infs. *ren*, *rin*, *run*, and in the South forms showing metathesis, the parent of the modern dialect form *ɒ̄n*.

Before 1500 *burn* is rare; apart from the instance in the *Towneley Myst.* I have found it only in CeP. After 1500 its use gradually increases. In 1530 Palsgrave gives *brenne* as an entry merely and refers the reader to *borne*, *burne* for his information, which shows that in Palsgrave's mind at least, the latter were the standard forms. The subsequent progress of *burn* may best be traced in the translations of the New Testament. T. and C. always have *burn* in inf. and pres. with one exception where *brennyng* is used, in the pt. and ppl. *burnt* and *brent* are used about the same number of times. In G. (1557) however, and all subsequent versions *burn* alone is used. The predominance of *burn* in the inf., while *bren* was still equally common in pt. and ppl., is noticeable in other works as well, and it makes against the theory that *burn* was developed from the pt. or the ppl.

Bren(ne) is from ON. *brenna*. It is very common in Cx., and continued to be so for the first part of the 16th century. Machyn is the latest writer I have found who uses it in every-day English; it does occur in Marlowe and Sp., but only as an archaism. *Brannyng* is instanced by Lkbsch. and is explained by him as coming from OE. *bærnan*. This is

doubtful, as there are no instances of *bærnan* after the 13th century, either in NED. or Bradley-Stratmann. Perhaps the spelling may simply denote an exceptionally open *e*. Cf. *bater* for *better* given by Rudolf (p. 8) and similar examples in Diehl (p. 15). Diehl offers the explanation that [ă] had already become [ĕ]. *Brynne* occurs as inf. in Sk., Bk. St. Albans, Barc. and BernH.; *brynt* occurs in the ppl. in Ellis (from a Scotchman), and in BernH. *Byrne* also occurs in inf. in BernH.

Inf. Cx. *brenne* E. 86 (v. o.); Or. Sap. *brennynge, -eþ* 331, 332; Lkbsch. *brennynge* (1), *brannynge* (2); CeP. *burnyng* 99; Ellis A *burne, -eth* i. I, 97. 132 (Dacre), *brennyng* i. I, 214 (Surrey), 224 *note* (Earl Dorset), *borne* 227 (Surrey quoting Dacre), *brent* iii. I, 269 (Hannibal); Sk. *brynnyng* : *grynnyng* 19, *brennynge* 47; Bk. St. Albans *brynne* c vj b; Pica *burne, -yng* 13, 67; Barc. *bren, -nynge* I, 276, II, 243, II, 83, *borne* I, 125; *brynnynge* II, 96; Fisher *bren(ne), -yng* 31 (8), *burnyng, -inge* 375, 421; Ellis B *borne, -yng* ii. II, 152 (Pory, 1539), iii. III, 128 (Theobald, 1537), *burne, -ing* iii. II, 333 (st. p.), ii. II, 59 (Mason, 1535); BernH. *byrne, -ynge* 161 (6, changed in 1 case to *burn* in 1601 ed.), *brenne, -ynge* 542 (4, changed in each case to *burn*); *bryn(ne), -ynge* 103 (10, changed in each case to *burn(e)* in 1601 ed.); Wyatt *burn(e), -yng* XVIII, 456 (5); Surrey *bourne* 287, *born* 293 : *retourne* 334, *boren* : *mowren* 337; Hall *burne* 20 (14), *brenninge* 39, 84 b; Ascham *burne* : *turne* 36 (4), *brenning* 27; Machyn *borne, -yng* 47 (4), *berne* 99; Fenton *boorne* II, 107; Marl. *bren* D. III, 257, otherwise *burn(e)*; Sp. *bren* : *men, den* iii. iii, 34 (2), *burning* ii. ix, 29; *burn(e)* only form in Cov., Hoby, Gasc., PPP., LyE., LyP., Kyd, Und., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm., Voy. C., Cocks. **Pt.** Cx. *brenned, -yd, brende, brente* GB. 32 (v. o.); CeP. *burnyd* 52, *brent* 79; Ellis A *burnt* i. I, 94. 95 (Dacre); Pica *burned* 13; Barc. *brent* I, 204, II, 301; Ellis B *burnyd* ii. II, 99 (Cowley, 1538, written from Ireland); Cov. *brent* Jer. xxxix, *burned* 1 Sam. ii, *burnt* Nu. xvi. xix (*u* seems more common); Hall *burned* 41 (2), *brent(e)* 99 (20); Wyatt *brent* : *quent* XVIII, 491; Tott. B. *boornd* 50; Sp. *brent* : *government* ii. vii, 13 (4), *burnt, -ed* i. ii, 5 (5); *burned* (also *burnte*) only form in PPP., LyE., LyP., Kyd, Und., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm., Cocks. **Ppl.** Cx. *brent(e)* E. 139 (v. o.); Ellis A

brent(e), *brenned* ii. I, 236 (Earl Worcester) (6), *brynt* i. I, 30 (Bothwell), *bruntt* i. I, 107 (Burbank, 1514), *borned* iii. II, 148 (Marg. Dorset), *burnt* i. I, 96 (Dacre, ? pt.), *burnyd* ii. I, 190 (W. Knight, 1512); Sk. *brent* : *serpent* I, 92 : *spent* II, 29; Fisher *brent(e)* 148 (3); Barc. *brent* I, 59, II, 139; Myr. our Ladye *burnyd* (E.E.T.S.) p. lix; Ellis B *brent* i. II, 69 (Frenchman), iii. III, 164 (Layton, 1538), *bowrnde* ii. II, 155 (Pery, 1539), *borned* iii. III, 124 (Theobald, 1537), *bournt* iii. III, 128 (the same); BernH. *burnyd* 96, *brint*, *brynt* 137, 327, 338 (in first 2 cases changed to *burned* in 1601 ed.), *brent(e)* 723 (occurs 21 times, nearly always changed to *burnt* in 1601 ed.); Cov. *burnt(e)* Rev. viii, *brent* Rev. viii (*u* seems more common); Surrey *burnt* 291; Hall *burned* 3 (14), *brent* 22 (17); Machyn *brent(t)* 40 (3), *bornyd* 17 (5), *bornd* 82, *borntt* 140, *burnt* 60, *burnyd* 4; Tott. *burnde* : *turnde* 234, *brend* : *ende* 146; Gasc. *burnt*, *burned*, *burnde* I, 306 (8), *whole-brunt* I, 305; Sp. *brent* : *torment* i. xi, 28 (4), *ybrent* iii. ix, 53, *burnt(e)*, *burned* SI. 653 : *turned* v. viii, 38; *burned* (also *burnt[e]*), only form in Ascham, Hoby, Ellis C, LyE., LyP., Kyd, Mann., Und., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm., Voy. C., Cocks.

Not in BJG. Gill *inf.* burn (p. 114; 7 times in all), bürn (p. 114).

§ 97. **Burst.** The OE. verb was conjugated *berstan*, *bærst*, *burston*, *gebORsten*. *Berstan* arose by metathesis from **brestan*. *Berst* is found in inf. as late as Cov. The pt. sg. *borst* in the literary language lasts down to Cov., pt. pl. *burst(on)* lasts all the way through. The ppl. *borst(en)* comes down to the 15th century, when *burst(en)* with the vowel of pt. pl. appears and ultimately supplants it. From the 13th century on these forms undergo metathesis to a great extent. Through the influence of ON. *bresta*, the inf. developes a form *brest(en)*, and from ON. *brista* a form *brist(en)*, both lasting till the 16th century in the literary language. The pt. developed a form *brast*, still in dialect and archaic use, and the ppl. *brost* (lasting till the 15th century) and *brust* (lasting till the 17th century). Then the various ablaut-grades of the verb began to infect one another strongly, in the 14th century the inf. takes *brust* from ppl., and in the 15th century *brast* from pt. The pt. on the other hand takes *brest* in the

14th century from inf. The ppl. in the 14th century has the form *brusten* (with vowel from pt. pl.), also *brast*. NED. gives no instance of *brast* for the 15th century, but it occurs in Malory. It became obsolete in the 17th century. *Brasten* is found in the 16th century. It is perhaps not exact to say that the various grades infected one another. The stem of the verb ended in *-st*, and it tended to become weak like other verbs in *-st* (cf. *cost*); *i. e.*, the tendency would be to have the same vowel in all grades, to conjugate *brest, brest, brest*; *brast, brast, brast*, &c., as the case might be. We now come to the form *burst*. Sweet (NEG. § 1354) says "The *u* of the infin. *bursten* is the result of the influence of the lip-consonant *b* on the earlier *eo*, as in *burn*, the *u* being afterwards extended to the pret. partic." I regret that I cannot share this opinion. It is true that the NED. gives an inf. *bursten* for the 13th century, but it does not occur again till the 16th century. It is very hard to determine what *u* from *eo* in the 13th century meant, and the absence of intermediate connecting forms makes it very likely that *burst* in the 16th century was a new formation. Considering the history of the verb and how often the pt. or ppl. form is found in the inf., it is much simpler to suppose that *burst* was extended to the inf. to get the series inf. *burst*, pt. *burst*, ppl. *burst*, just like the series *brast* or *brest* given above. In our period then we have the following forms:

Inf. *Berst* only in Cov. (OE. *berstan*).

Barst only in Cov. This may be from pt. *barst*, or it may show the common development of *e* to *a* before *r* + cons. [*bāst*] in mod. dial. ne. Nrf.

Brest(e) in Cx., Palsgr., BernH. From ON. *bresta*.

Brist(e) in NED. for 14th-16th centuries.

Brast(e) in Cx., Sk. and in the morality *Everyman* l. 814 (rime *fast*). Also in *All for Money* ll. 382, 495 (rimes *haste, past*), in *Shaks. Jbch.* XL, and occasionally in other poets for the rime. Still archaic, and in the mod. dialects of w. Wm. and s. Lan.

Broste in Cx. Not in NED. In dial. of sw. Lan.

Brust in Gasc. and Sm. From 14th-16th centuries in NED. In many modern dialects.

Burst from Palsgr. onwards; from 1550 the usual form.

Pt. *Barst* Cov. OE. pt. *bærst.*

Brast. Frequent, from Cx. to Sp., given by Gill as pt. of *break,* and in NED. also for the 17th century. Still possible in archaic style. In mod. dial. of w. Yks.

Brest Cx. In NED. also for the 16th century.

Bróste Cx. Not in NED.

Brust(e) in Machyn, Gasc., Sp. In NED. only for the 16th century.

Brusted in NED. for the 16th century. In the modern dialects of Ayr and Nhb.

Bursted in Works of Alexander (Lord Stirling) (1870) I, 69. In many modern dialects.

Burst(e). From Cx. onwards.

Ppl. *Brusen* Cx. *Brusn, brusnd* common in dialect.

Brosten Cx. In NED. for 14th-15th centuries. *Brosn* common in modern dialects.

Bresten Cx. BernH. Not in NED.

Brast Cx., Fisher, Hall, Sp. In NED. for 14th, 16th and 17th centuries.

Brasten Fisher. In NED. only for the 16th century.

Brust Sp. In NED. for 16th-17th centuries.

Bursten Palsgr. (adj. only), Cov., Nashe (adj. only). In NED. from 15th-18th centuries. In Gascoigne with variant reading *bursen.*

Burst from Palsgr. on. In NED. from 16th century on.

At the end of the period *burst* seems to have established itself as inf., pt. and ppl. Cf. the quotation from BJG. below.

Inf. Cx. *breste* R. 96, M., *brast(e)* FSA. 173, 496, M. xv, *broste* FSA. 478; Sk. *brast* : *cast* 296 : *blast, mast* 316; Palsgr. *brest* 465, *burst* 472 (5); BernH. *brest* 117 (*ed. 1601* burst); Cov. *barsteth* Lk. v, 37, *burst, -eth* Nahum i, 13, Prov. xxxii, 19, *berst* Nu. v; Gasc. *burst* : *first* I, 138 (3), *brust* I, 331; Sm. *brust, -ing* 61, 454; *burst* only form in Hoby, PPP., LyE., LyP., Kyd, Sp., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ. **Pt.** Cx. *to-burste* pl. E. 138, *brast* M. b ij (v. o. in M.), *brest* M. d vj, *to-broste* FSA. 478; CeP. *braste* 77; Fisher *brast(e)* 165, 404, *burst* 394; Palsgr. *burst* pt. sbj. 465; BernH. *brast(e)* 103 (v. o.; 8 times altered to *burst,* 2 to *brake* in 1601 ed.); Cov. *brast* Acts i, 18 [*T., G.* brast, *C., R., AuV.* burst], *to-barst* 2 Chr. xxv; *burst*

Nahum i; Hall *brast* 48, 60; Ascham *brast* 129 (3); Machyn *burst* 30, *brust* 207, 219; Gasc. *burst* I, 482, II, 235, *brust* II, 240; LyE. *burst* II, 102; LyP. *burst* III, 284; Sp. *brust* : *lust, dust* iii. viii, 25 (4 times in rime), *brast* : *mast, past* iii. vii, 40 (8, 3 in rime), *burst* v. xii, 2 (o.); Shaks. *burst* R. 3, i. iv, 41 (c. 5); AuV. *burst* Acts i, 18; BJ. *burst* V. iv. i; mod. dial. *brast* w. Yks., *bursted* from Sc. to Dev., *brusted* Ayr, Nhb. **Ppl.** Cx. *brosten* FSA. 391, *bresten* FSA. 79, *brusen* B. 28, *to-brast* M. L ij; Fisher *brasten* 60, *brast* 404; Palsgr. *burst on* 472, *bursten* 307, *burst* 473; BernH. *bresten* 69; Cov. *bursten* Jer. v, 5, ii, 20; Hall *brast* 12^2; Sp. *burst* iv. xii, 11 : *accurst, durst* iv. ii, 49 (o.), *brust* IV. iv, 41 : *thrust* v. xi, 31 : *dust* R. o. T. 518 (3); *brast* : *fast, cast* i. ix, 21 (5 in rime), *unbraste* iii. vi, 18, given by Boehm is really *unbraced*; Nashe *burst* ppl. CT. I 3 b (4), *bursten belly* WT. E 1, *bursten bellied* PP. C ij b; *burst* only form in Ellis C, LyE., Eliz. & J., Kyd, Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ.; mod. diall. *brosn, brusn, brɒsn* Sc. n. Cy. Yks. Lan. Chs. Der. Not. Lin. Lei. War. Shr., *bosnd* Stf., *brusnd* Yks., *bursted* Bch. Abd. Lei. Glo. Sus. e. Dev., *brusted* w. Yks.

BJG. (c. 17) says: "Many *verbs* in *time past*, vary not at all from the *present*; such are *cast, hurt, cost, burst*, &c." Gill (p. 62) gives *brast* as pt. of *break*.

§ 98. **Carve.** Caxton's ppl. *coruen* preserves the origin vowel; *caruen* in Sk. has the vowel of inf. and pt. NED. gives *keruen* from More (*Conc. Heresyes* I. Wks. 117/2, date 1528). The modern ppl. *carven* is one of the new formations introduced by Keats.

Pt. Cx. *carf(e)* E. 96, M. A viij (5), *kerued* M. h vj, aaj. **Ppl.** Cx. *coruen* R. 83, 84; Sk. *caruen* II, 2. Always weak otherwise. Not in dialect.

§ 99. **Fight.** OE. pt. *fæht* (Anglian) comes down as *faught(e)* in Cx., CeP., Sk., Bk. St. Albans, but not into the 16th century. Römstedt says it is *"beinahe ausgestorben"* in Cx., but I have found it 33 times in Malory, and once *fauggt* (*gg* obviously a printer's error), to which I have unfortunately lost the reference. NED. gives *thou foughtedst* from Bentley *Mon. Matrones* ii, 17 (1582), and seems to infer from it the existence of a form *foughted*. But this is not likely, see § 184.

In the ppl. Cx. generally has *foughten*. *Faughten* with the preterite vowel occurs once in Cx. and again in Marlowe. It is not given in NED. for the 17th century. *Fawght* occurs as ppl. in *Three Chronicles* (Camden Society) p. 89 (date 1513). *Foughten* is found as late as the 17th century. Gasc. and Shaks. have it only as adj. in the phrase, *a foughten field*. But it is still used as ppl. by Und., Mann. and Florio. (See NED.) It is not easy to determine how *fought* (pt. and ppl.) was pronounced by any particular person in the 16th century, as we have three pronunciations to choose from. Smith gives [*au*] for pt. and ppl. See Ellis p. 890. Butler gives *faught* (p. 48). This is the more interesting as spellings in *au* are very rare. Considering that *-aught* and *-ought* rimed together so often, it is probable that even then *-ought* approximated closely to *-aught* in sound. This would account for *faught* being written so seldom. Gill gives (*ōu*) for the ppl. (p. 110), which is his usual symbol for ME. *ou*. Daines makes a distinction between *bought, sought, thought,* and *fought,* giving to the former the same sound as in *bow* (to shoot with), to the latter the sound in *stout, bout* (p. 12). This pronunciation is supported by the rimes *fought* pt. : *out* : *doubt* in R. Chester's *Loue's Martyr* (ed. N. Shaks. Soc. 1878) p. 30 (date 1601). Dr. Brotanek (p. liii) says this latter sound can only be explained as coming from pt. pl. *fuhton*, the vowel of which must have been extended to pt. sg. and ppl. and he compares the development of ME. *duhti* to *doughty* (dauti). [*au*] is not in modern dialects.

Pt. Cx. *faught(e)* B. 166, FSA. 299, M. Y vij, *fought* M. Y vij; CeP. *fawght* 119; Sk. *faught* 9, *foughte* 10; Bk. St. Albans *faught* a iij b; Machyn *foyth* 95, *fought* 153; *fought(e)* only form in Ellis, BernH., Surrey, Hall, Ascham, Hoby, Gasc., LyP., Dee, Shaks., AuV., Heyw., Sm., Voy. C., Cocks; mod. diall. *fet, fēt, fit, fīt* Nhb. Cum. Yks. s. Chs. Lin. Rut. Lei. Nhp. Cmb.; *fighted* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *foughten* C. d v (fairly common), *faughten* GB. 242, *foghten* GB. 296, *fowghten* B. 42, *fougten* M. Cont. viii. xv, M. d v, *fought* B. 62 (fairly common); Lkbsch. *foghtyn*; Ellis A *foughten* (Bothwell); Fisher *foghten* 227; Hall *foughten* 11 (4), *fought(e), vn-* 39 (7); Ascham *foughten* 34, *fought* 163; Gasc. *fought* I, 84, II, 309, *foughten* II, 189. 194. 196; Mann. *foughten* 91; Dee *fought* 9, *foughten* 167, 184;

Marl. *faughten*; Shaks. *fought* A. & C. iv. vii, 4, R. & J. i. i, 26, *well foughten* H 5, iv. vi, 18; *fought(e)* only form in Sk., BernH., Lei. Corr., Kyd, Ellis D, AuV., Heyw., BJ., Voy. C.; mod. diall. *foχtn, fotn* Sc. Nhb. Cum. Yks. Lan. Chs. Lei. Shr., *feχtn, fitn* Sc. Nhb. n. Yks. s. Chs., *fighted* w. Som.

BJG., see § 51. Gill, *inf.* fjht (p. 88 &c.), *ppl.* föuht (p. 110).

§ 100. **Thresh.** From OE. *ðerscan* by metathesis. In Cou.'s *throsshinge* the *o* seems to have been extended to the pres. from the ppl. *Throsh* is found in modern dialects of m. Shr. e. Hrf. m. Bck. (Wright, p. 54). *Throssheth* also occurs in Tindale's New Test. 1 Cor. ix, 10. (Sopp p. 16).

Inf. Cov. *throsshinge* Jdg. vi, 11, *-eth* Isa. xxviii, 27. **Pt.** AuV. *threshed* Jdg. vi, 11. **Ppl.** Cov. *throsshen* Isa. xxv, 10, *throszhed* Amos i, 3; Ascham *threshed* 28; AuV. *threshed* Isa. xxviii, 27, Amos i, 3.

§ 101. **Worth. Pt.** Cx. *worden* pl. R. 34.

Class IV.

§ 102. This class had in OE. the following ablaut-system:

e, æ, ǣ, o.

The *æ* of the sg. became *ĕ* or *ă*, in ME. this *ă* was lengthened to *ā* "infolge des vereinten Einflusses aller langen Formen des Zeitworts" (Bülbring p. 61). In early ME. forms with *ē* occur in pt. sg., for the details, see Bülbring pp. 53-7. Bülbring explains this (p. 56) as follows: "Die Dehnung des Sg. ist eben nicht erst in ME. eingetreten, sondern auf dem ganzen Gebiet, wo später *beer, seet* usw. gilt, schon im AE., als es noch *bær, bǣron* hiess (im ak. *ber, bêron*). Damals wurde *bær* zu *bǣr*, und dieses *ǣ* entwickelte sich wie das *ǣ* des Pl. zu *ē*, mochte *æ* zu *ĕ* oder *ă* werden." Professor Bülbring informs me that he would now add that also *bęęr, tęęr, spęęk* with close *e* arose in Anglian dialects (already late Northumbrian, Li. &c.; but also in Southern ME. (Anglian) texts): see *Bonner Beiträge* XV, 132. In later ME. forms with *ā* or *ē* occur both in sg. and pl. In the 15th century (see Dibelius §§ 257-9), forms with *ē* become rarer, *ā* is the most usual vowel in sg. and pl. At the same time the vowel of the ppl. begins to make its way into pt. pl., *broken* occurs as pt. pl. in Wyclif (Micha iii, 3), *to-brock* in the popular literature (Dibelius, § 257), *brǫke* is the only form of the pt. pl. in Capgrave (Dibelius, § 258). Capgrave also has pt. pl. *stole* (*Chron.* 256). *Bore* occurs as pt. in W. Midl. texts from 1400 on (see NED.), and there is also a Scotch *bur, buir* exemplified from the 15th century. Bülbring gives pt. sg. *bore* from Trevisa I, 309, but suggests (p. 65), it may have been due to the printer or, if right, that it may be from the ppl. or from

OE. *bâron*. Dibelius gives *bore* as pt. sg. from K. Orl. (Munster) 6, and as pl. from Capgrave and the Paston Lett. NED. gives examples of *bore* as ppl. from 13th century, *broke* as ppl. from 14th century onwards. During the ME. period the weak verb *wear* took on the strong pt. and ppl. of this class.

§ 103. In our period forms written with *ē* in the pt. are rare. They occur for *bear* in Cx. and Machyn, for *break* in Cx. and in Gill as *Occidentaliter*, and for *wear* in the *Monk of Evesham* and *Myrrour of oure Ladye*. The pt. of *bẹar* is occasionally spelt *bear*, this is probably only a spelling of *bare*. Diehl (p. 28) gives *saeffe*, *Arceadian*, *Jeames* for *safe*, *Arcadian* and *James* respectively. Rudolf (p. 17) gives *feare wele* for *fare well* from Tindale, and *laese* for *lazy* from Spenser. Conversely, the spellings *bare*, *brake* for the inf. do not denote that the inf. and pt. had fallen together; Diehl (p. 32) gives examples of *sale* for *seal*, *grat* for *great* and Rudolf (p. 16) of *mate* for *meat*. *a* is the usual vowel in the pt. down to about 1600, after which *o* begins to oust it. *Steal* forms an exception to the rule, the only instances with *a* after Gasc. are in AuV. and Butler. The pt. of *shear* never has *a*, but then I have only found three examples of it. The ppl. *broke* is fairly common, but *bore*, *shore*, *stole*, *tore*, *wore* in ppl. are rare in prose and are used in poetry mostly for the rime. They are common in modern dialects. *Cam* in Machyn and *brake* in BJ. are the only instances of the pt. vowel in the ppl. in these verbs. *Come*, *shear*, *steal* and *tear* have occasional weak forms. The pt. *shored* (Herbert) and ppl. *stolled*, *-yd* (from Ellis) show a mixture of weak and strong, which is still found in modern dialects.

These verbs fall into two subdivisions, those whose stems end (1) in a liquid, (2) in a nasal.

1. Verbs whose stems end in a liquid.

§ 104. BJG. (c. 18) says: "Then *a*, or *o*, indifferently; Pr. *break*. Past *brake*, or *broke*. Par. pa. *broke*, or *broken*. Hither belong *speak*, *swear*, *tear*, *cleave*, *wear*, *steal*, *bear*, *shear*,

weave. So *get,* and *help*; but *holpe* is seldom used, save with the poets."

Butler gives *bear, break, steal, tear* with pt. in [*a*], ppl. in *-orn,* and an alternative form in *-or,* (*-ole*) for both pt. and ppl. For *shear* and *wear* he gives only pt. *-or,* ppl. *-orn* (pp. 48-49).

§ 105. **Bear.** **Inf.** The usual form is *bear(e).* Cx. has *bere,* which occurs in Sk. (I, 17), Barc. (I, 14. 278), fairly often in Ellis A and B, BernH. (266), Hall (17) who has otherwise always *bear(e),* Ascham (120) who also has otherwise only *bear(e),* in Sp. iv. xii, 15 (: *there, were*), in the same stanza it occurs out of the rime spelt *beare,* in Ellis D i. III, 180 (Dk. Buckingham). *Bare* occurs in Ellis A iii. II, 322 (Ctess of Salisbury) in Tott. (: *declare*) p. 57, Ellis C ii. III, 104 (Ld. Hunsdon), Harvey (5, 170); Eliz. & Jas. 138. *Beyr* occurs in Ellis A i. I, 66 (West), *beyer* in Ellis B ii. I, 141 (Pery). *Beer* occurs in Ellis A ii. I, 214 (Howard), BernH. 21, 262. *Ber* occurs in Ellis A i. I, 42 (Q. Margaret), II, 8 (Warham), Ellis C i. II, 120 (Ld. Hertford). **Pt.** *Bare* is the prevailing form up to 1560; it is the only form in Lkbsch., CeP., BernH., Cov., Hall, Ascham; Cx. has *bare* generally (E. 12, B. 16, &c.), *bere* M. Tiiij; Sk. *bare* sg. : *ware* sb., *share* I, 112, pl. I, 186, *bore* pl. : *sore, more* I, 142; A XXVI *thou bare* 164 (4); Ellis A *bare* ii. I, 238 (Ld. Worcester), *forbare* i. I, 69 (Dr. West), *bear* pl. iii. I, 361 (Warham); Fisher *bare* 369, 384, 398, *bear* sg. 369; Ellis B *bare* (2), *forbayre* i. II, 245 (Sir F. Knollys), *bore* pl. i. II, 210 (1565, Ambassador's letter); Surrey *bore* sg. Æn. IV, 799 (Fest); Tott. *bare* : *declare* 172, *bore* pl. : *sore* 115; Machyn *bare* 28, 38 (o.), *bere* pl. 21, 25. After 1560 *bare* is the only form that occurs in Gasc., Lei. Corr., Eliz. & Jas. (2), Und., Mann., AuV., Cocks (1). Hoby has *bore* 31, 179, 236 (o.); Ellis C *beare* ii. III, 91 (priest), PPP. *bore* III, 265 (usu. *bare*); Fenton *bore* I, 137, (*for*)*beare* II, 256. 287, (*for*)*bare* usual; Harvey *bare* 10, *bore* 147, 157; LyE. *bare* I, 235, *bore* II, 21, 53 (o.); LyP. *bare* III, 191. 362, *bore* III, 226 (repeating III, 191), *thou bor'st* III, 385; Marl. *bore* E. 204; Kyd *bare* (7), *bore* (5), *boare* (1); Sp. *bare* : *care* i. iv, 19 : *faire* 25 (6), *bore* iii. vi, 5 (changed afterwards to *bare*); *bore* i. x, 13, xi, 19 (3); Shaks. *bore* Tp. i. ii, 41, Err. v, 343 (36), *bare* Err. ii. i, 73,

Rom. v. ii, 13 (5), *bear* WT. i. ii, 309; 1H4, i. iii, 42, R3, ii. i, 89 (Ff. *bare*, Qq. *bore*); Heyw. *bore* I, 165. 285 (v. o.), *boare* I, 4, IV, 162; *forbore* III, 331, *bare* : *faire* III, 289, IV, 156 (5); BJ. *bare* EMH. i. iv, E. iv. ii, *bore* D. iv. i, SN. v. iii, EMH. ii. iii; Sm. *bore* 520, 660 (4), *bore* 150, 670 (6); Voy. C. *bore* xliv, 83, *forbore* 21, *boare* 116; in GF. and GH. *bore* usual; mod. diall. *borned* Irel., Wor. Glo., Sur., Sus., Som., *beared* Bch., Hbd., Yks. s. Chs. I. W. Wil. w. Som. Cor. **Ppl.** *born* or *borne*, in the sense *getragen* or *geboren*, the form with *-e* being commoner. *Boron* in Lkbsch. p. 118. *Boren* occurs in Cx. M. (who has *born(e)* o.); in Ellis A iii. II, 4 (Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk), and Voy. C. 14, 26. *Bowrne* in Ellis ii. II, 150 (uneducated man), *boorn* in Lkbsch., Ellis ii. II, 160 (Cromwell), *boorne* Tott. 100, 116. *Bore* in Wey's *Itineraries* (Roxburghe Club) pp. 14, 18, in A XXVI : *more* 130, *before* 206, Shaks. Ham. v. i, 205 (so Qq., Ff. *borne* = getragen), Chapman WT. 10 (prose). Shaks. has *born(e)* very frequently. Sp. has *born* (o.), *borne* (13), *yborne* (6), *yborn* (1), *ybore* (3), *bore* (1), *forbore* (1). *Yborne* occurs also in Tott. B. 1321. Mod. diall. *boə(r)* Shr., *bǭnd*, *bānd* Irel. Der. Wor. Glo. Sur. Sus. Som. Dev. Cor., *beared* s. Chs., w. Som.

BJG. see § 104. Gill *inf.* bër 61, 145, forbër 117, *pt.* bär 61 or bör 61, 129, *ppl.* born 61. Butler, see § 104.

§ 106. **Break.** The form *brak* (also *bracke*) occurs, among others, in Cx., Lkbsch., Ellis, BernH., Lei. Corr. It may be only a mere spelling, and not denote a short vowel after all, but [*brăk*] is so common in modern dialects (see the lists), that it is safe to assume its existence in Elizabethan times. It is the direct descendant of the OE. pt. sg. *bræc*. For *brake*, *broke*, &c., see § 103.

Inf. At first *breke* is the prevailing form, it is the only one recorded for Cx., Sk., BernH., it is very often in Fisher, who has *break(e)* twice; it occurs in Wyatt, p. 492: *wreke*, *weke*. *Breyke* occurs in Ellis A i. I, 69 (Dr. West), 256 (More), *brek* in Ellis A ii. II, 24 (H. Stafford), iii. II, 64 (L. Stubs), and Fisher p. 402. *Brake* occurs in Sk. I, 293 (: *lacke*, *tacke*, *wrake*), in Barc. I, 47. 208, II, 207, he has *breke* I, 173; also in Fenton I, 155. After 1530 *breke* becomes rarer and rarer,

it occurs in Hall, Ascham, and LyE., all of whom have also *break(e)*, which is the usual form after c. 1530. Machyn has *brykyng* 109, 233. **Pt.** Cx. has *brake* B. 84, E. 138 (v. o.), *brak* GB. 103, B. 48 (7), *bracke* B. 195, *braken* pl. E. 39, *breke* pl. B. 136, *broke* pl. B. 28. *Brak* occurs again in Lkbsch., Ellis A i. I, 250 (Dacre), Lei. Corr. 120, *bracke* in BernH. 744, *breke* in a prose life of the date 1526 in the preface to the E. E. T. S. ed. of the *Myrroure of Oure Ladye* p. xlviii. *Brake* is the prevailing form down to about 1600 when *broke* begins to take its place, it is the only form in Sk., Fisher, Ascham, Hoby, Gasc., Eliz. & Jas., LyP., Und., Mann., AuV. After Cx. *broke* occurs in Ellis A i. I, 64. 74 (both from Dr. West, date 1513), Cov. Isa. xxiii, who has *brake* 2 Kgs. iii. xviii (v. o.); Hall 123, *brake* 2, 6 (v. o.); Machyn 78, 83, *brake* 83, 82 (6); Harvey 13, *broke* 157; LyE. II, 6, *brake* II, 15. 38 (5); Kyd *brake* (2), *broke* (3); Sp. i. xi, 22, ii. iii, 23, *brake* : *make, spake* i. xii, 29, & ii. iii, 24 : *sake, make* iii. ii, 20 : *bespake, take, make* iii. iii, 52, and 3 more times in rime; Ellis D i. III, 126 (Mead), *brake* 117 (Mead), 239 (Pery); Shaks. Wiv. i. i, 125, Err. v, 149 (v. o.), *brake* Ven. 469, Err. v, 48 (4); Heyw. I, 241. 303 (5), *brake* I, 341 (v. r. *broke*), 343 : *spake* IV, 113 (5); BJ. E. iv. v, *broake* BF. iv. v, *brake* A. ii. iii; Sm. 18, 153 (9), *brake* 31, 733, 759; Cocks 291 (5), *broake* 93, II, 121. 158; *brake* 343. *Brokke* occurs in Ellis C iii. III, 372 (Sc.), *brok* in Cocks II, 78; mod. diall. *brak* Sc. Nhb. Dur. Cum. Wm. Yks. Lan. n. Lin., *bruk* Bch. Abd. Not. Ess., *broked* w. Som. Cor. **Ppl.** The usual form is *broken*, also occasional *brokyn*, and *broken* is the only form in Lkbsch., Cov., Fisher, Hall, Ascham, Machyn, Hoby, Lei. Corr., LyE., Und., Dee, Mann., AuV. Cx. has usually *broken* so Cu. 4, R. 7 &c., once *broke* GB. 287; Barc. *brokyn* I, 48, *broke* II, 15. 115; BernH. *broken* 80, 114 (usu.), *broke* 426, 479; Tott. B. *ybroke* 490; Gasc. *broken* I, 13. 56 (usual), *broke* I, 92 : *smoke* 406 (9), *unbroken* II, 265, *ybroke* I, 133; Harvey *broakin* 55; LyP. *broken* II, 353. 395 (8), *broken hearted* II, 379, *broke* II, 433; Marl. *broken* D. III, 261, *broke* E. 193; Kyd *broke* (10), *broken* (11); Sp. *broken* ii. viii, 31, xi, 47 (o.), *broke* : *stroke, revoke* ii. viii, 39 (9); Ellis D *broken* i. III, 208. 272 (Mead), ii. III, 227 (Pr. Henry), *broke* i. III, 208 (Mead); Shaks. *broken* Lucr. 1758, AYL. i. i, 134 (c. 55), *broke* Tp. iii. i, 37 (c. 50), *broake* Sonn. cxliii (the two latter never before

sb.); Heyw. *broken* (19), *unbroken* (1), *broke* (16), *broake* (3); BJ. *broken* ppl. (8), adj. (7), *broke* ppl. (10), adj. pred. (1), *brake* : *quake*, *shake* (6 rimes in *-ake*) in *Masque of Queens*; Sm. *broken* adj. (5), ppl. (5), *broke* ppl. (6); Voy. C. *broken* 5, *broke* 1; Cocks *broken* (4), *broaken* (6), *broake* (1); mod. diall. *brōk* Irel. Chs. Lin. Nhp. Glo. Oxf. Hmp. sw. Cy., *bruk* I. Ma. s. Not., *broked* w. Som. Dev.

For BJG. see § 104. Gill (p. 62) gives I brëk, I bräk, brök, *olim* brast, *Occidentaliter* brïk, I hav brökn. For Gill's distinction between *brök* and *brökn* see § 189. Butler, see § 104.

§ 107. **Shear.** I have found no example of a pt. in *a*. BJG. gives it among the verbs that have *a* or *ǫ* in the pt., but Butler while giving *a* or *o* for other verbs of this class, gives only *o* for *shear* and *wear*. Herbert's pt. *shored* is in the modern dialect of w. Som.

Inf. Sk. *shere* : *vere* (= Spring) I, 138; Shaks. *sheere* 3H6 ii. v, 37; AuV. *sheare* Gen. xxxi, 19, xxxviii, 13 (4). **Pt.** Cov. *shore* Acts xviii, 18; Sp. *sheard* ii. vi, 31; Shaks. *shore* Oth. v. ii, 206; GH. *shor'd* 76; mod. diall. *feə(r)*, *föə(r)*, Sc. Nhb. Cum. Yks. Lan. n. Lin. Shr., *shored* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *shorn* R. 43, 103, 104; *shoren* FSA. 279; Lkbsch. *shorn*, *shoren*, *vnshoren*; Barc. *ofshorne* I, 244; Surrey *yshorne* 323; Ascham *shorne* 91, 200, 281; Sp. *shorne*, *un-* CC. 258 (3); Shaks. *shorne* Son. lxviii, AYL. iv. iii, 35, *vnshorne* Compl. 94, *shore* : *gore* MND. v, 347 (Thisbe's speech); AuV. *shorne* Acts xviii, 18 (T., C. *shore* pt., G., R. *shorne* ppl.) 1 Cor. xi, 6 (T., C. *shoren*, *shorne*, G. *shorne*, R. *polled*); Heyw. *shorne* V, 268. 370, *vnshorne* VI, 190. 292, Cocks *shorne* 194; mod. diall. *fiərən* m. Yks., *föə(r)* Sc. Wxf. Suf., *sheared*, *shared* Shr. w. Som. e. Dev., *shored* w. Som. Dev.

BJG. and Butler see § 104. Not in Gill.

§ 108. **Steal.** The pt. *stale* is allowed both by BJG. and Butler. The only example I have found after 1600 is in AuV. It is still used in northern dialects, see the lists. Daines says that *o* in the verb *stole* is short, in the noun *stole* from *stola* long (p. 25). I have found nothing to confirm this. Ppl. *stown* occurs in the Morality *Mankind* l. 587 (E. E. T. S.) p. 22, *stowin* in Ellis (i. II, 251) from a Scotch writer. Cf. *swone*

for *swollen*, § 93. *Stolled* in Ellis (iii. II, 64, III, 131) is in the modern dialect of w. Som.

Pt. Cx. *stele* sg. FSA. 386, *stall* D. 36, *stal* R. 35, *stale* R. 18, M. I vij (5); Lkbsch. *stale*; Ellis B *stole* pl. i. II, 80 (Dr. London, c. 1538); BernH. *stole* 125, 613 (both sg.), *stalle* 310; Cov. *stole* Matt. xxviii, 13 (so in all vers.), *stale* 2 Chron. xxii, 11, 2 Kgs. xi, 2, Gen. xxxi; Hall *stale* 20, 259, *stole* 257; Hoby *stole* 303; Ellis C *stole* iii. IV, 6 (Sir T. Smith); Gasc. *stale* I, 391, II, 39. 139, *stole* I, 454; Fenton *stale* I, 143; LyP. *stole* II, 444, III, 200. 204; Sp. *stole* ii. x, 70; Shaks. *stole* 1H4, iii. ii, 50, Lucr. 162 (19); AuV. *stale* Gen. xxxi, 20, 2 Kgs. xi, 2, *stole* Matt. xxviii, 13, Eph. iv, 28 (so also T., C., G., R.) (4); Heyw. *stole* I, 320, III, 102 (12); BJ. *stole* A. v. iv, EMH. v. i; Sm. *stole* 23, 38 (6); Cocks *stole* (9); mod. diall. *stēl*, *stiəl* Sc. Lakel. Yks., *stold* w. Som. Dev., *stealed* Sc. n. Lin. Oxf. Brks. Dev. Cor. **Ppl.** Cx. *stolen* R. 8, D. 38 (5), *stole* R. 106; Ellis A *stolen* iii. I, 154 (Ld. Howard), *stollen* i. I, 32 (Hen. VII), *stolne* ii. I, 191 (Dr. Knight), *stolled* iii. II, 64 (L. Stubbs); Barc. *stolyn* I, 76, II, 315; Ellis B *stolen* i. II, 255 (a lawyer), *-yn* 80 (Dr. London), *stollen* iii. III, 156 (Devereux), 306 (St. P.), *stowin* i. II, 251 (Sc.); *stollyd* iii. III, 131 (Dr. London); BernH. *stolen* 86, *stollen* 311, 627 (5); Cov. *stollen* Eph. iv, 28, Gen. xxxi (o.); Hall *stollen* 257; Ascham *stolne* 89; Hoby *stolen* 144, 162; Gasc. *stollen* I, 96. 447, *stolen* I, 186, *stolne* I, 446; Lei. Cor. *stollen* (3), *stolen* (o.); LyE. *stolen* I, 188, *stolne* II, 122; LyP. *stolen* II, 451, *stolne* II, 458, III, 189. 204, *stollen* III, 175; Sp. *stolne* ii. ix, 2, v. iii, 29, *stolen* i. iii, 18 (2 syll.), iii. x, 33 (2 syll.), v. iii, 26 (2 syll.), *stollen* SI. 620, 641; Shaks. *stoln* A. & C. iii. vi, 42, *stolne* Sonn. xcix, Oth. iii. iii, 338 (c. 50, all 1 syll. in verse), *stollen* MND. iii. ii, 51 (1 syll.), *stole* Caes. ii. i, 38; AuV. *stollen* Exod. xxii, 7. 12 (14); Heyw. *stoln(e)* II, 87, III, 7 (v. o.), *stole* II, 87, V, 150; BJ. *stolne* V. Prol., B. F. Ind. v. vi; Sm. *stolen* 32, 33, *stollen* 33, 474, *stolne* 36, 157 (8), *stole* 317; Cocks *stolne* 8, 14 (v. o.), *stole* II, 214; GF. *stole* 166; mod. diall. *stōl* Sc. Irel. Der. Shr. n. Wal. s. Oxf. Brks. sw. Cy., *stealed* Sc. Oxf. Dev. Cor., *stoled* w. Som.

BJG. see § 104. Gill (p. 89) ppl. *stöln*.

§ 109. **Tear.** The weak pt. *teryd* in the *Monk of Evesham* is in several modern dialects.

Inf. Ellis A *terringe* iii. II, 152 (Bp. of Bangor); Fisher *tereth* 12; LyP. *teare* II, 465; Shaks. *tear(e)* : *bear* Lucr. 1472, Compl. 51 : *fear* Lucr. 739 : *here* Lucr. 1472, Compl. 51 : *there* Lucr. 739; Heyw. *teare* : *where* VI, 159 : *heare* II, 231 : *severe* VI, 138 : *there* VI, 174, *teares* : *weares* VI, 140; BJ. *teare it* : *weare it* A. iii. v. **Pt.** Cx. *tare* R. 92, 108; Monk of Evesham *teryd* 57 (but ppl. *to-toryn* 38); BernH. *tare* 188, 355 (4); Cov. *tare* Lk. ix, 42; Hall *tare* 11; Surrey *tore* sg. Æn. IV, 786 (Fest); Tott. *tore* : *rore* 172; Gasc. *tare* I, 124, *tore* II, 241; LyE. *tare* II, 140; LyP. *tore* III, 66; Sp. *tore* i. viii, 16, *tare* : *prepare, stare* iii. vii, 39, Thest. 33; Markham Grinuile *toare* (Arb.) 68; Shaks. *tore* Wint. iii. iii, 97, Jn. iii. iv, 70 : *more, o'er* Lucr. 1787; AuV. *tare* Lk. ix, 42 (so T., C., G.; R. *tore*), Mk. ix, 20 (so T., C., G.; R. *troubled*) (4); Heyw. *tare* VI, 157; Sm. *tore* 78, 165 (6); Cocks *tore* II, 124. 296; GH. *tore* 76; mod. diall. *teə(r)* Yks., *tored* Glo. w. Som. Dev., *teared* w. Yks. Stf. Shr. Brks. **Ppl.** Cx. *to-tourne* E. 49, *to tore* R. 10, *torn* M. I viij; Sk. *to-torne* 148; Ellis A *torne* iii. I, 226 (business paper); Barc. *tore* I, 305 : *ore* II, 250, *toren* I, 132, II, 142, *torne* I, 213, II, 225 : *scorne* 276; Fisher *torne* 93, 379, *toarne* 396; BernH. *to torne* 621; Sp. *torne* ii. ii, 27, v. viii, 31, *toren* Thest., *tore* : *dore, flore, bore* iii. xii, 3 (2), *ytorne* iv. i, 21, SC. Apr. 2; Heyw. *torne* I, 83. 302 (v. o.), *tore* : *shore* VI, 103; GF. *tore* : *deplore, restore* 154 : *before, adore* 227. In Wyatt, Cov., Tott., Hoby, Gasc., Harvey, LyE., LyP., Marl., Und., Shaks., AuV., BJ., Sm. *torn(e)* is the only form; mod. diall. *tôə(r)*, Sc. Irel. I. W. Dor. Dev., *tared* Shr. Brks., *tored* Brks. w. Som. Dev. Cor.

BJG. see § 104. Gill (p. 112) gives inf. *tër*, ppl. (p. 130) *up-torn*.

§ 110. **Wear.** Pt. *ware* is allowed by BJG. and Gill, but not by Butler. After 1600 it occurs in AuV. and once in Shaks., where the Qq. have *ware*, but the Ff. *wore*. *Weared* (Fenton II, 235) is pretty common in modern dialects.

Inf. Cx. *were* R. 73; Ellis A *were* i. I, 288 (Sir B. Tuke), Ellis B *weare* ii. II, 307 (lawyer), from this time *wear(e)* is usual. Machyn has *wher* 32, 120, *wayryng* 62, *where* 17; Harvey *waring* 11. Rimes: LyP. *weare* : *here* III, 385; Shaks.

weare : *appear* LC. 95 : *bear* Sonn. lxxvii : *dear* LC. 95, *weare* : *bear* VA. 163 : *fear* VA. 1081 : *here, tear* LC. 291 : *year* VA. 506; Heyw. *weare* : *appeare, reare, deare* II, 4, *deare* II, 42, III, 71, *weares* : *teares* (= Tränen) II, 230, *outweares* : *yeares* III, 147; BJ. *weare* : *feare* P. i. i, *weares* : *eares, feares* P. v. iii; GF. *waires* : *haires, teares* 252; GH. *wear* : *bear, there* 24, *spear* 145. **Pt.** Cx. *ware* R. 41, M. D j, X viij; Monk of Evesham *were, ware* (Arb.) 85; Saint's Life in Myrrour of our Ladye *weer* (E. E. T. S.) p. lii (c. 1526); Ellis A *vore* sg. iii. I, 127 (Earl Suffolk, bad speller, ? c. 1502), *woore* i. II, 202 (Ambassador, 1565); Surrey *ware* 313; Cov. *wayre* 2 Sam. xiii, 18, *ware* Lk. viii, 27, Jn. xix; Machyn *wher* 31, 198, *wore* 232, *ware* 132, 133, 250, *warre* 281; Tott. B. *wore* 839, 1292, 2772; Hoby *wore* 188, 134, *ware* 151; Ellis C *wore* iii. IV, 15 (Burghley, 1574); Gasc. *ware* I, 442; PPP. *ware* I, 134, *wore* II, 3; Fenton *weare* II, 244, *weard* II, 235; LyE. *wore* II, 53; LyP. *wore* : *gore* III, 348, *woare* III, 359; Marl. *ware* D. I, 251; Sp. *wore* i. x, 31 (o.), *ware* : *spare, compare* i. iv, 28 (3); Shaks. *wore* A. & C. v. i, 8, Alls i. ii, 30 (usual), *ware* Tit. i. i, 6 (so Qq., Ff. *wore*); AuV. *ware* Lk. viii, 27; Heyw. *wore* I, 79, VI, 147 (v. o.), *woare* III, 425; BJ. *wore* A. iii. v; Sm. *wore* 54, 307 (v. o.); Voy. C. *wore* 87; mod. diall. *weə(r)* ne. Sc. Lakel. Yks., *wored* w. Som., *weared* Sc. n. Yks. Nhp. Wor. w. Som. Dev. Cor. **Ppl.** Usual form is *worn(e)*, so Cx., Sk., LyE., Shaks., &c. Fisher has *forworen* 117, *worne* 196; Barc. *worne* : *thorne* I, 262, *wore* I, 43 : *sore* II, 241; Ellis A *woren* I, 193 (Gruffithe); Sp. *worne* ii. iv, 4, iv. iv, 27 (o.), *wore* SC. Oct. 8 (2); mod. diall. *wared* Gall. Nhp. Glo. Oxf. I. W. Dor. w. Som. Dev., *wored* Der. w. Sus. w. Som. Dev. Cor., *wôə(r)* Sc. Uls. Brks. e. An. Sur. w. Sus. Dor. Cor., *wīr* Ayr.

Butler and BJG. see § 104. Gill (p. 61) gives I wër, *Imperf.* I wär, wör, *Perfectum* I häv worn.

2. Verbs whose stems end in *-m.*

§ 111. **Come.** Luick says that in ME. *cŭme* > *cōme*, and gives many rimes to support his theory. Morsbach (HA. C. 75) says these rimes are "quantitativ ungenaue, qualitativ annähernd" rimes between [ŭ] and [ō]. (See also Luick *Stud.* and *Unters.*, Heuser in *E. St.* XXVII, 353 *et seq.*, H. A. from

C to CIV; see also the literature cited in § 3). Wright (EDG. p. 386) gives [*kūm*] as from n. Nhb. n. Dur. m. Cum. s. Lan. s. Lin. w. Cor. The rimes I have collected tend to support Morsbach's theory. No poet rimes exclusively long, most poets use sometimes the short, sometimes the long rime. To explain the rimes we must either assume that a long and a short pronunciation existed side by side (cf. Modern English *roof, room*) or adopt Morsbach's theory. The probability of his theory gains strength from the fact that the long pronunciation is not to be found in the phoneticians; Hart, Bullokar, Gill, Daines, Butler, all make *come* short. Morsbach's theory is supported also by the spelling. The infinitive is usually spelt *come*, but in other present forms the almost invariable rule is to double the *m* before a vowel, so that *comming, commeth* are the regular spellings with scarcely an exception. In general one cannot place much reliance on Elizabethan spelling, but where we do find regularity, it is all the more trustworthy, just on account of the chaos that prevailed. The invariable doubling of the *m* goes far to prove that the preceding vowel was invariably short.

In OE. the pt. sg. was *cōm*, pt. pl. *cōmon*. A form *cam* is to be explained either on the supposition that **cwam, cam* may have survived from prehistoric times, or that it arose on the analogy of *nam, nāmon* by the side of *nōm, nōmon*. (See Bülbring pp. 73-6, Sweet in *Anglia* III, 153-5). The short *a* survived till the 17th century, short rimes are found in Skelton, Bale and Sidney (see Ellis p. 872). There is a doubtful rime in Spenser, see the lists. *Came* also rimes with *swam* in Ben Jonson's Masque, *The Barriers*. In print the spelling *cam* is very rare after 1540, it is common in MSS. till about 1600, after which it becomes rarer. How far, if at all, it may have denoted a short vowel, it is not easy to determine. [*ă*] is widely prevalent in modern dialects, and so it is probable that it was common in Elizabethan times too. Daines (p. 27) says *came* is to be pronunced "*quasi cam*" (p. 27). Hart does not give the pt. of *come*, Bullokar makes it long, Gill (p. 60) makes it short once, but nine other times long, so that the short example is probably a misprint. It is hard to account for the conquest of the long form. The prevailing form in the inf. was short, the ppl. was short, and

one would have thought that the analogy of verbs like *swim, swam, swum* would have helped the short form to keep its place. See § 200. With regard to the weak forms, it is noticeable that they are far commoner in the ppl. than in the pt., and that they were to be much more widely used in the later 17th century.

Come in the pt., is allowed in BJG., is frequent in the earlier part of Ellis, and occurs once in Shakspeare and Heywood. A ppl. in *-en* comes down as late as Lylly, and is recorded for modern dialects from Scotland to Shropshire; see the lists.

Inf. The usual practice was to spell inf. *come*, but when a vowel followed the pres. stem in inflexion, to double the *m*, so *comming, commeth*, even *commes* (Gasc. I, 72, *becommes* I, 117). There are many variants of the inf. form in MSS. and occasionally in print, e. g., *comme, com, cum, cumme, com.* I have noted the following rimes with *come* or *become*: Sk. : *glome* (= look) I, 33 : *Dominum* I, 63; Tott. : *summe* 87, *christendome* 90, *some* 135, *runne* 138, *dome* = *dumb* 154, *blome* = *bloom* 267, *dome* = *doom* 161; Levins *cum* : *crum, dumbe* 188; Crowley (E. E. T. S.) : *some, wysedome* 113, *dome* = *doom* 161; Gasc. : *dome* = *doome* II, 249, *sum* II, 274; LyP. : *dumbe* III, 142 : *doome* III, 345; Sp. : *wombe, doome, roome, whom, groome, bloomes, broomes, groomes, some, somme* (= *sum*), *mum, dum, bosome, home, rome* (= *roam*) see Bauermeister p. 115; Shaks. : *doom, tomb, some, sum*, see Vietor p. 254; BJ. : *roome* D. Prol., *roome, some* E. Prol.; Sm. : *doome* 23, *dome* (= *doom*) 922, *whom* 287. **Pt.** Cx. *cam* C b v (usu.), *came* C b v (the exception except in M.), *com* E. 8 (sg.), *come* R. 99 (sg.), M. a ij (sg.), E. 124 (pl.), *camen* sg. B. 86, *camen* pl. GB. 85, R. 27 (6), *becam* R. 43, B. 61, *bycamme* B. 114, *became* E. 156, *become* R. 43 (sg.), *becomen* pl. R. 34, *ouercome* M. a iij (pl.), *welcomde* B. 198, *welcomed* R. 119; Lkbsch. sg. *cam, came, com(me), come*, pl. *came, kame, come*; CeP. sg. *cam, came, com, come, cwm*, pl. *cam, com, come, ceme.* After 1500 *came* becomes the prevailing form, it is the only form in Fisher, Ascham, Gasc., LyE., LyP., Und., AuV., BJ., Sm., Voy. C. *Cam* occurs in rime, in Sk. *cæciam* II, 41, *lam* II, 50, in Bale it rimes with *misericordiam, Adam, Abraham, lamb*, see Moser p. 29. Sp. *cam* ii. vii, 37, *came* : *ram, swam, ysame* vii. vii, 32 (*came* usual

form). In print it dies out pretty early, in BernH. it is as frequent as *came* (also *cammest* 148), in Cov. it occurs only once (*ouercam* Rev. iii, 21), in Hall once (158 b), in Hoby twice (167, 195). In MSS., however, it is to be found up to the end of the period in Ellis, Machyn (*came* and *cam* equally frequent), Harvey (*cam* 13, *came* 1), Lei. Cor. (*came, cam,* equally frequent), Dee (*cam* v. o., *came* o.), Mann. (*came* o., *cam* once), Ellis D (*came* o., *cam* 3), Cocks (*came* v. o., *cam* 3). The latest example of the pl. *camen* is in Ellis iii. II, 102 (Lee c. 1528), the same writer uses *came* on the next page. *Come* (with variants *com*[*e*], *cum*[*me*]) is frequent in Ellis A & B, it occurs five times in A XXVI, 118. 124. 125 (here W. de Worde has variant *came*). 179. 238, *cam* also frequent pt. in A XXVI, in BernH. (406), once in Ellis C i. III, 290 (Fleetwood, 1583), once in Shaks. (1 H4, ii. iv, 201, *came* in Q8 (1639), Ff. 3 & 4; otherwise Shaks. has only *came* and only long rimes); Heyw. III, 287 (usual *came*). *Becommed* occurs in Ellis A i. II, 214 (Ambassador), *cummid* once in Eliz. & Jas. 101 (Jas.). Mod. diall. *kam, kom, kum,* n. Cy. w. Yks. Lan. Chs. Not. Lin. Nhp. War. Shr. Glo. Oxf. Brks. e. An. s. and s. w. Cy., *comed* Yks. Lan. Chs. Not. Lin. Nhp. Shr. Glo. e. An. w. Som. Dev. Cor. **Ppl.** Cx. *comen* E. 18, R. 5, *come* E. 101, B. 43, *comme* E. 125, *com* E. 84, B. 142, 146, *becomen* B. 18, R. 35, 81, *bycome* E. 75, *becom* B. 112, *ouercomen* R. 108, 110, M. xj, *ouercome* C. b viij, *welcomen* E. 124, R. 51, *welcome* M. Sj, (*come* more usual, only form in R., in M. *comen* 13 times, *come* 11 times in 200 pp.); Lkbsch. *comen* (9), *-yn* (6), *commen* (4), *-yn* (1), *come* (7), *become* (1), *-yn* (1); CeP. *cwm* (o.), *comen, -yn, -on* (v. o.); Fisher *comen, ouercomen* in earlier part of book, *come, become* in later part; Ellis A *comen, -yn, commen, cummen, -yn, com*(*e*), *cum, comm*(*e*), *coome*; Ellis B *comen, -yn, commen, com*(*e*), *cum, cume, ouercume, becumm*; BernH. *com, come* (v. o.), *cum* (1), *becom* (2), *comen* (5), *-yn* (1); Ascham *cumme* (1), *come* (3), *com* (1), *ouercommed* p. vii (title-p.); Machyn *cam* 126, *cum* 60, *ouercome* 55; Ellis C *come* (usual), *cum* (1), *com* (1), *commed* iii. IV, 31 (Bp. Freake); Harvey *ouercumd* 3, *cum* 26, 40, *cummen* 172; Lei. Corr. *come* (usu.), *becom* 129, *coommen* 149 (Sir T. Heneage); LyE. *come* (usu.), *ouercome* (3), *ouercommen* I, 290; LyP. *come* (*ouer-, be-*) usu., *ouercomd* III, 285; Und. *come* (*be-*) usu., *ouercome* (6), *ouercommed* (6); Sp. *come* ii. vi,

18 (usual), *commen* ii. xi, 29, v. ix, 21, *comen* vi. xi, 44, *becomen* vi. vii, 34, *overcommen* iii. iii, 50 (2), *over-comen* ii. xii, 31 (2), *overcum* : *dum, mum, becum* iv. vii, 44; Markham Grinuile *comd* (Arber) 59; Ellis D *come* (usu.), *com* (1), *comd* i. III, 138 (Jas.); Shaks. always *come, ouercome*; *become* (o.), *becom'd* Cymb. v. v, 406, A. & C. iii. vii, 27, R. & J. iv. ii, 26, *misbecom'd* LLL. v. ii, 778; Heyw. *come* (*be-, ouer-*) usu., *com'd* IV, 185, *becom'd* IV, 253 (both in Lancashire dial.). In Barc., Cov., Hall, Hoby, Gasc., Marl., Dee, Mann., AuV., BJ., Voy. C., Cocks (usu. *com*), only *come* (*be-, overcome*); mod. diall. *kumən, kʷmən* Sc. Nhb. Cum. m. Yks. Chs. Shr., *ċomed* Sc. n. Cy. w. Yks. e. Lan. Lei. Glo. Ess. w. Som. Dev.

BJ. (c. xviii) says "*come, came, come*, and here it may besides keep its proper vowel [i. e. in pt.]". Gill (p. 60) gives I kum *venio*, I kam *veniebam*, I häv kum *veni*, but in five other cases *käm* as pt., and bikäm, overkäm twice each as pt.

§ 112. **Nim, numb, benumb.** NED. gives no example of a strong pt. for *nim* after the 15th century. In the ppl. it gives *nomman* from *Chester Plays* (E. E. T. S.) 401, *num* from Partridge *Hist. Pand.* (1566). A sixteenth century edition of Chaucer's *Boethius* substitutes *binomed* for the *bynomen* of the original. The ppl. has survived the rest of the verb in the form of the adj. *numb*. The earliest quotations in the NED. for this word in its function as an adj. are from the *Promptorium Parvulorum* 358/1 (*nomyn*) and the *Towneley Mysteries* xxx, 111 (*nome*). *Nome* occurs again as late as 1577-82 in a poem of Breton's. The verb *numb* is first recorded from Marston *Antonio's Revenge* iv. iv (1602) and the adj. *numbed* from Brende *Q. Curtius* Sj (1553). The verb *benumb* is first recorded in a mental sense from the *Digby Myst.* (*benome*) II, 374 (1485), in a physical sense from Palsgr. (*benomme*) 448/2. Of these forms *num*(*b*) is the direct descendant of OE. *numen*, (*be*)*nome* either shows that the *o* of the pt. had found its way into the ppl., most probably on the analogy of those numerous verbs which had *ō* in both pt. and ppl., or *o* here may be a spelling for *u* before *m*, cf. *come*.

Inf. Bk. St. Albans *benymme* h ij b. **Pt.** Cx. *benamme* R. 61; Pyramus & Thisbe *nam* : *cam* A XII, 16 (c. 1500); *nome*

in Flügel's *Lesebuch* p. 158 (date 1550). **Ppl.** Cx. *benomen* C. 104, *bynomen* Gold. Leg. 85/3, *benome* M. Pvj (4); Or. Sap. *vndernommene* 336; Palsgr. *benombe* 306, *benomme* 448; *benumme* in Flügel's *Lesebuch* p. 202 (date 1547-8); PPP. *benommed* II, 24; Sp. *benomd* SC. Aug. 4; Und. *benummed* 104; Shaks. *benummed* Tr. & Cr. ii. ii, 179; Sm. *benummed* 450, *benumbed* 605.

Gill (p. 33) nem, *aut* nim *accipe*; (Somerset dial.).

Class V.

§ 113. In OE. Cl. V had the following ablaut-series

e (*i*) *æ* *ǣ* *e*.

In ME. the *æ* of the sg. became *a* and then was lengthened "in Folge des vereinten Einflusses aller langen Formen" (Bülbring, p. 61). Further we sometimes find *ō* in the pt. pl. of *get, give, queath, was*. Kluge (P. Gr. I, 1033) suggests that in *get, give* and *was* this *ō* may have been developed from the Scandinavian (*gātu, gāfu, wāru*); Björkmann (pp. 85-6) agrees with him and thinks that *ō* in pt. pl. of *queath* may perhaps be explained in the same way. Bülbring (pp. 58-9) explains the *o* in *give, queath* and *was* as developed from *ā* (= Goth. *ē*). The question is complicated by the fact that in the pt. pl. of *speak* and *steke* (*stick*) we find in later ME. an *o* that can only have come there from the ppl., where the forms *spoken, stoken* had displaced *speken, steken* on the analogy of Class IV. It is perhaps best to take the cases singly. *Gote*(*n*) in the pt. pl. does not occur till Wyclif (Dan. vii, 22 b, see Dibelius § 260), and it is not particularly frequent in the pt. till the 16th century. On the other hand *gotin, goten* occur in the ppl. from the 13th century on, *got*(*e*), *goten* are frequent in the 15th century (see Dibelius), and in the 16th the forms with *o* are practically the only ones in constant use, the others are obsolescent or merely occasional. The conclusion is irresistible that *ō* came into the ppl. by analogy, just as in the case of *spoken*, that it was then extended to the pt. pl., and from there in course of time to the pt. sg. With regard to *give*: *Youe*(*n*) appears in pt. pl. in the 13th century, the earliest example in NED. is *ȝoven* from *Genesis and Ex.* l. 844; *o* first appears in ppl. in the

14th century. In *Gen. and Ex.* these forms are especially common (*youe* opt., *gouen, woren, quothen* pt. pl.), see Bülbring p. 59. As it is an eastern text, where Scandinavian influence was to be expected, it is not unlikely that these forms are really due to such influence. On the other hand *iafen* in *Old English Chronicle* for 1137 provides a form from which *youe* could be developed. The question demands a much closer and more detailed examination than there is room for here.

§ 114. In the ppl. *e* remained without exception till the third quarter of the 14th century. From that time *ō* begins to appear, at first sporadically, and then more frequently. *Yspoke* was the first of these and it was soon the only form for *speak* (Bülbring p. 63). In later ME. this *ō* began to find its way into pt. pl., from where it passed over occasionally to the pt. sg. (*gote, spok, spooke* in *Paston Lett.*, see Dibelius § 265). Conversely, the vowel of the pt. is sometimes found in the ppl. in later ME. (*satyn, satte* in *Paston Lett.*, ibid.). In early ME. the forms of *biddan* began to fall together with those of *bēodan*, and gradually a fusion of these verbs took place. The vowel of the inf. is sometimes seen in the ppl. of *get, lie, sit.* A few verbs show weak forms occasionally, i. e. *weave, wreak.*

§ 115. During the 16th century *o* became more and more frequent in the pt., and about 1600 *got, spoke, trod* were the common forms. In *tread* the pt. in *a* is not found in literature after Cx., though it is mentioned in Daines (p. 55), but in *speak* and *get* this pt. was still in use at the end of the period, though not so frequent as the pt. in *o*. In *give,* the ppl. *gouen* soon dropped out, and no example of the pt. *goue* is found at all. In *bid, eat, fret, get, sit, tread* shortening of one or more of the forms took place, see the discussions below. See also § 200. The pt. vowel appears in the ppl. of *bid, get, give, sit, speak,* only in *sit* did it establish itself. In *bid, get, lie, sit* the inf. vowel sometimes appears in ppl.; and in *bid, sit* the conjugation had the same form all the way through in inf., pt. and ppl., on the analogy of the weak verbs. *Forbid, fret, knead, lie, mete, see, weave, wreak* show more or less frequent weak forms. The weak verb *spit* adopted some of the forms of this class.

§ 116. **Bid, Forbid.** The modern English verb *bid* represents the fusion of two OE. verbs: *bēodon, bēad, budon, boden* of Class II, meaning *to order,* and *biddon, bæd, bēdon, beden* of Class V meaning *to request.* These began to fall together in early ME. and in the 15th century the confusion was complete, both verbs being interchangeable in form and meaning. Cx. has inf. usually *(for)bede,* rarely *byd(de),* pt. only *bad(de),* ppl. only *boden.* The tendency is for those forms which came from *bēodan* to disappear. *(For)bede* is not very common after Cx., it occurs in Fisher, three times in Ellis (latest 1572), in BernH., Machyn and Sp.; *(for)bid, -byd* is after Cx. the standard form. In addition to the forms I have collected, the NED. gives *beadeth* from 1541 Elyot *Image Gov.* (1556) 143 b. In the pt. five, perhaps six forms are possible, with the vowels *e, ŏ, ō, ă, ā, i.* The forms with *e* probably came into the pt. from the ppl. *(for)beden* of *biddan.* NED. records them for *forbid* from the 13th to the 15th centuries, but not at all for *bid.* I have found pt. *bed* in Hoby (127, 197), who has also *e* in the ppl. *Bed* is still the form in n. e. Lan. I have not found forms with *o* for the pt. of *bid* in this period, but NED. gives *bod* from Warner (1592) and Sylvester (1598), *bode* from Elyot (1541). *Forbod* I have found in Tott., Shaks. and Heyw. (where the speaker is using the Lancashire dialect), *forbode* in Tott. B. and *All for Money* (where it rimes with *god*). *Bod* is the form in the modern dialects of Yks. and e. An. It will be seen that the one rime and the modern dialects have a short vowel; the material is too scanty for us to determine whether there was a long vowel by the side of this in the 16th century. For the rest, it is not very clear whether the form with [ā] or with [ă] was commoner. Cx. only uses *bad* or *bad(de),* which seems conclusive as to his pronunciation, and it is more often spelt without than with the final *e.* In A XXVI *bad* rimes with *glad, sad* on p. 242, and *bade* with the same words on p. 214. On the other hand we have the spelling *bayde* from a tradesman in Ellis (ii. II, 146) which points to a long vowel, Bullokar gives a long vowel (p. 69), and BJG. places *bid* and *sit* along with *give,* which may mean that they had graphically the same vowel (*a*) in pt., or it may mean that they all had the same long vowel in the pt. Cheke spells it *bad* in

Matthew (p. 71), Butler gives [ă] (p. 49). Neither *bad* nor *bade* has survived in dialect. *Forbidd* first appears in Fenton (II, 80), *bidd* in Lei. Corr. (p. 87) and LyE. (I, 246, where there is v. r. *did bidde*). It becomes fairly common towards the end of the period, occurring thirty times in Shaks., though it is nowhere as common as the forms in *a*. It arose, of course, on the analogy of verbs like *rid, rid, rid*. It is not acknowledged in BJG., and it is not in the dialects. Butler gives it for pt. and ppl. (p. 49). In the ppl. I have not found any examples with *o* for *bid* after Cx.; NED. gives *boden* from Langley (1546), and *bod* from More (1529). *Forboden* I have found in Cx., Warham (who also has *forbeden*), Fisher (who also has *forbyden*), and *Myrroure of oure Ladye*; NED. gives it also from Bulleyn (1562). It is fairly frequent in the first half of the 16th century; I have not troubled to note all the instances I have come across — they would be too many. *Forbod* I have only found as v. r. to Shaks. (Rom. iii. i, 92). *Forbode* occurs in J. Heywood *Pard. and Friar* riming with *god*. *Forbod* in J. Davies (a. 1618), see NED. *Forbeden* occurs once in a letter from Warham (i. I, 240), *forbed* twice, *bed* once in Hoby and once in Sp. The *e* comes directly from the OE. ppl. of *biddan*. There was a ppl. *bidden* already in the 13th century to the verb *biddan*; this and *bid* are the standard forms in the 16th century. *Bad* (from pt.) occurs once in Shaks. (Tw. v, 345).

Inf. Cx. *forbede* B. 29, R. 35 (5), *bydde* R. 46, *byd* M. a. iij; Fisher *forbede* 61, 173, *byddynges* 75; Ellis B *bede* ii. II, 85 (Duchess of Richmond), *forbed* i. II, 212 (Amb.); BernH. *byd* 486, *forbed* 31, 249, *forbede* 487 (5); Machyn *bed* 88; Ellis C *bed* ii. II, 336 (Ctess Lennox, a. 1572); Sp. *bid* usual, *bed* : *sted* sb. i. ix, 41 (Liese wrongly gives it as pt.). Otherwise in Ellis and all other books *bid* (*byd*(*de*), &c.). **Pt.** *Bad* or *bad*(*de*) alone occurs in Cx., Lkbsch., Fisher, BernH., Ascham, Machyn, Ellis C, Harvey, Lei. Corr. (1), Mann.; *bade* alone in Eliz. & Jas.; Ellis A *bad* i. I, 284. 290 (Tuke) (3), *badde* ii. I, 233. 238 (Earl Worc.), *bade* i. I, 306 (agent); A XXVI *bad* 194 : *glad, sad* 242, *bade* 211 : *glad, sad* 214; Ellis B *bad* i. II, 55 (Sir W. Kingston), *badde* iii. III, 89 (agent), *bade* iii. II, 228 (agent), *bayde* ii. II, 146 (tradesman); Cov. *bad* commoner than *bade, forbad* (4), *forbade* (1); Tott. B. *forbod*(*e*) 1900,

2116; Hoby *bed* 127, 197; Gasc. *bad, badd(e)* I, 85. 86 (v. o.), *forbad(d)* II, 252. 295 (3), *bade* II, 117. 122; Fenton *forbidd* II, 80, *-badd* 174 (more usu.); All for Money *forbode : god* in *Sh. Jbch.* XV, 186 (date 1578); Lei. Corr. *bidd* 87; LyE. *badde* I, 205, *bid* (farewell) I, 246 [*G., E.* did bidde]; LyP. *bad* II, 403, *bid* II, 447, III, 211, *byd* III, 206; Sp. *bad, badd(e)* i. i, 37, *bade* v. v, 34 ('nur in den letzten Büchern der F. Q. und in S. I.' Boehm), *bid* vii. vi, 11; Und. *bad* (5), *badde* (10), *bade* (7); Nashe *bad(de)* (usu.), *bidde* (2), *bid* (1); Ellis D *bad* i. III, 136, *forbade* 223, *bid* 130 (all by Mead); Shaks. *bad* Tp. i. ii, 192 (c. 40), *bid* WT. v. i, 109 (c. 30), *bade* Wiv. ii. ii, 104, *forbad* Cor. v. i, 12, Pilgr. 124 (4), *forbod* Lucr. 1648 (not before noticed in Shaks.); AuV. *bade* Gen. xliii, 17 (17), *bad* Acts xi, 12, *forbade* Deut. ii, 37 (5); Heyw. *bad* I, 116. 340 (9), *bade* I, 114, II, 13 (2), *bid* IV, 243, V, 17 (5), *forbad* II, 101, *forbodden* (Lanc. dial.) IV, 183; BJ. *bad* E. ii. i, A. ii. iii (4), *bid* V. v. xi, A. ii. v; Sm. *bad* (4), *bade* (3), *bid* (2); Cocks *bad* (13), *bade* (1), *bid* (2), *badd* (1), *forbad* (3); mod. diall. (= invite) *bod* Yks. e. An., (= offer) *bed* ne. Lan. **Ppl.** Cx. *boden* D. 15, M. V iiij, *forboden* C. f vij; Ellis A *forbed* iii. II, 74 (Ambass.), *forboden* I, 239, *-beden* 240 (both Warham); Fisher *forboden* 55, 76, *-byden* 201; Hoby *forbed* 22, 309, *bed* 127; Ellis C *bidden* i. II, 308 (Fleetwood), ii. III, 188 (Bacon), *forbidden* 37 (Lord Mayor), *bid* i. III, 23 (Q. Eliz.); Fenton *forbidded* II, 10 (? misprint, usual form *forbidden*); LyP. *forbidden* (3), *bid* III, 263; Kyd *bidden* (1), *bid* (1), *forbidde* (2), *-en* (4); Sp. *forbidden* i. xii, 36, iii. iv, 14 (usual), *bid* I. iv, 24, *forbid* VG. 435, *unbid* i. ix, 54, *bed* iii. iv, 39; Shaks. *bid* Ven. 943, Oth. iv. iii, 14 (usual), *bidden* Ado iii. iii, 32 (Verges), ? *bad* Tw. v, 345, *vnbid* 3H6 v. i, 18, *vnbidden* 1H6 ii. ii, 55, *forbidden* Sonn. vi, Rom. iii. i, 92 (Q 1 *forbid*, Ff. *forbidden, forbod*) (5), *forbid* Meas. ii. iv, 46, Mcb. i. iii, 21 (usual); AuV. *bidden* Matt. xxii, 3, 1 Sam. ix, 13 (14), *bid* 2 Kgs. v, 13, Zeph. i, 7, *forbidden* Lev. v, 17 (3); Heyw. *bidden* I, 296 : *hidden* II, 33 (3), *bid* IV, 218 (3), *vnbidden* I, 75, *forbidden* I, 166 (3), *forbid* II, 328 (3); BJ. *bid* SN. v, 1 (3), *bidden* BF. iii. v (rough rime), *forbid* E. ii. iv, *-en* D. i. iv (2). *Bidden (for-)* alone in Ellis B, Cov., Hall, Gasc., Lei. Corr., LyE., Und., Mann. (1), Ellis D (1), Cocks.; mod. diall. (= invite) *bidn* w. Yks. *bodn, bʊdn* Rxb. Nhb. n. and m. Yks., *fəbodn* n. and ne. Yks.

BJG. see § 119. Gill inf. *bid* pp. 95, 100, ppl. *bidn* ... non *bidden* p. 35, *unbid* p. 45.

§ 117. **Eat.** Machyn's inf. *ett* shows shortening from pt. and ppl. on the analogy of *beat, dread,* &c.; perhaps also of *fret.* Machyn also has a short vowel in ppl. (I have not found an example of the pt.), he most likely conjugated the verb *ett, ett, ett.* The meaning of Shakespeare's rime *eats, gets* (AYL. ii. v, 42) is doubtful, as *get* may have been short or long. NED. gives *ette* as inf. from 14th to 16th centuries. The OE. sg. pt. was *æt*; the long vowel is due to a reduplicating syllable, cf. Lat. *edo, ēdi. æt* is the parent of the form *eat,* [ɪ̄t] occurs in dialect; see the lists. It underwent shortening in ME., probably on the analogy of *beat, lead, read*; from which arose the now standard pronunciation (*et*). See Bülbring p. 64. In the 13th century a form *at* was developed on the analogy of other verbs of the same class, such as *bid, bad*; *sit, sat.* NED. gives it only for the 13th and 14th centuries, I have found *at(t)* also in Cov. It is common in the dialects, see the lists. NED. does not give *ate* before 1500, but Bülbring gives *frate* (pt. pl.) from Trevisa (V, 171), so it seems fair to assume that *ate* also existed at that time. It is still common in dialect, see the lists. The exact relation of these forms to one another in the 16th century is difficult to unravel. The spellings are: *ete* (early), *eat(e)* (late), *ate* (from Tindale on), *at(t)* (twice in Cov.). At the end of the period *eat(e)* is more common in spelling than *ate,* except in AuV.; but then *eat(e)* might have stood for a long or a short vowel. Bullokar (Plessow, pp. 149, 161) and BJG. give a short vowel. Cheke has the spellings *eat* (p. 64), *et* (p. 104). Butler gives [ā] (p. 48). I do not place much reliance on spelling as indicative of pronunciation; in the Works of Alexander (Lord Stirling) III, 372 the rime *late* : *rate* : *eate* pt. occurs, where the spelling is obviously at variance with the rime. It is probable that there were four forms of the ppl.: (*α*) *Eaten* with a long vowel, the standard form. (*β*) *Etten* with the short vowel of the pt., exemplified in Ellis (iii. II, 341) and in Machyn's *hetten.* NED. gives this from 14th-16th centuries; it is still in dialect, see the lists. Shaks. rimes *eaten* with *sweaten* ppl., and BJ. rimes it with *threaten. Sweat* itself and its pt. could

be short in the 16th century (see Ellis p. 905); so *sweaten* may have been short. *Threaten* is given as long in Bullokar, short in Gill (see Ellis, p. 906) and Daines (p. 54). BJG. mentions a form with a short vowel and without *-en*, and a form with a long vowel and *-en*; *i. e.*, if there was a form (*ĕten*) he ignores it. So that it is probable that he meant a long rime in *eaten* : *threaten*. (γ) *Eat(e)* with a long vowel, given in NED. from the 14th century on, and common in the 16th century. It is frequent in dialect. It is preserved in the nursery-rime:

"Tom, Tom, the piper's son,
Stole a pig and away he run,
The pig was eat,
And Tom was beat,
And Tom went roaring down the street."

(δ) *Et*, not noticed in NED., occurring in Machyn and mentioned in BJG. and still used in dialect. It is doubtful if all the forms spelled *eat(e)* were pronounced long. BJG. has only *eat(e)* in his plays; in his Grammar he gives only *et* or *eaten*.

Inf. Cx. *ete* C a iiij, Cu. 8, *eete* C dj, *eten* R. 69; Sk. *eate* : *meate*, *gete* I, 336 (3 long rimes); Ellis A *etyth* ii. I, 341 (Ambass.), iii. II, 21 (Tunstall); Fisher *ete* 57, *eating* 427; BernH. *ete* 75, 170, *eate* 375, 589, *eete* 464; Machyn *ett* 4, 143 (4); otherwise only *eat(e)*, and all long rimes except Shaks. AYL. ii. v, 42, where *eates* and *gets* rime. **Pt.** Cx. *ete* C b viij, E. 121 (o.); Sk. *ete* I, 4; Ellis A *ete* i. I, 285 (Sir B. Tuke); BernH. *ete* 109; Cov. *ate* Gen. xxiv, Ruth ii (o.), *att* Jer. lii, *at* Jer. xv; Gasc. *eate* I, 74, *eat* I, 368, *ate* I, 412; LyE. *eat* I, 251; Kyd *ate* Ard. 1454; Sp. *ate* i. vii, 2; Mann. *eat* 43; Nashe *eat(e)* (usual), *ate* SLW. D 2 b; Ellis D *eat* i. III, 198 (Mead); Shaks. *eat(e)* Sonn. xcix, MND. ii. ii, 149 (7); AuV. *ate* Ps. cvi, 27, Dan. x, 3, Rev. x. x (T. *ate*, C., G. *eate*); BJ. *eate* V. ii. i, BF. iii. vi; Sm. *eate* 114, 419, *eat* 580, *ate* 658; mod. diall. *at*, *ēt*, *īt* Sc. Wxf. Wm. Yks. Lan. Chs. Shr. w. Som., *eated*, *etted* Sc. Brks. **Ppl.** Cx. *eten* C c vij, R. 9, *ete* M. Pv.; Sk. *eaten* : *beaten* I, 313; Ellis A *etyn* ii. I, 321 (bishop); Barc. *etyn* I, 26, II, 168; Fisher *eten* 57, 158 (usual), *eaten* 427; Ellis B *eaten* i. II, 70 (Frenchman), *etten* iii. II, 341 (Irishman); BernH. *eten* 63, 66 (4), *eeten* 75, *eaten* 761; Machyn *hetten* 16, *ett* 197; Gasc. *eaten* I, 11. 219 (4), *eate*? II, 320; Shaks. *eat(e)*

Ado iv. i, 196, LLL. iv. ii, 26 (9), *eaten* TG. i. i, 46 : *sweaten* ppl. Mcb. iv. i, 64 (19); *ore-eaten* Tr. v. ii, 160; Heyw. *eaten* I, 70. 324 (6), *eat* I, 49, VI, 105; BJ. *eaten* : *threaten* P. iii. v; E. i. iv (8), *worm-eaten* P. i. ii, *eat(e)* A. v. i, D. i. vi; *eaten* alone in Cov., Hall, Hoby, Ellis C, Harvey, Lei. Corr., LyE., LyP., Und., Kyd, Sp., AuV., Sm., Cocks; mod. diall. *etn* m. and w. Yks. Lan. Chs. Shr. Sus., *et*, *īt*, *yɒt* War. Shr. Glo. I. W. n. Dor. w. Som. e. Dev., *jetid* Brks.

BJG. c. 18 says "*Ea* casteth away *a*, and maketh *e* short: Pr. *lead*. Past. *led*. Part. pa. *led* . . . Such are the *verbs*, *eat*, *beat* (both making *participles past*; besides *et* and *bet*, or *eaten* and *beaten*), *spread*, *dread*, *sweat*, *tread*." Gill *inf.* ët (pp. 30, 56), *ppl.* ëting (p. 135), *ppl.* ëtn (p. 75).

§ 118. **Fret.** This verb was conjugated in OE. just like *eat*. In early ME. the influence of the reduplicated verbs is seen in the fact that the pt. rimes with close instead of open *e* in Robert of Gloucester. Analogy with the reduplicated verbs led to the subsequent shortening of the pt. vowel. In the 16th century the inf. vowel was shortened, probably from the pt. *fret* and ppl. *frett(en)*, cf. *let*. Many long rimes are still found in the 16th century (see the lists), and it is also given long in Bullokar (Hauck p. 43). NED. gives pt. *fret* from Robinson's translation of More's *Utopia* (date 1551); but *fretted* is more usual. *Frēt* (cf. *āte*), *fret* are still in the dialects. Ppl. *fretten* and *fret(e)* occur as well as the weak forms, *fretn* is still in dialects.

Inf. A XXVI *frett* : *gret* 206; Sk. *frete* : *trete*, *mete*, *greate* 4 : *bete* inf. 53; Fisher *fretynge* 17; A XII (c. 1510) *frett* 269; Cov. *frett* Ps. xxxvii, 1, *fretinge* Lev. xiv, *freate* Lev. xiii; Tott. *freat* : *eate* 28 : *beat* 27 : *great* 48, 100 : *heate* 81, *frette* : *set*, *forget*, *thrette* sb. 199, *frete* : *hete* 228; Palsgr. distinguishes between *freate*, *freete*, *frete*, (= rub, corrode, vex) and *frette* (= adorn) 558; Ascham *freate* 77, 81, *-ynge* 71, *freete* 77; Levins to *Freate*, *fremere* : *eate*, *beate*, *bleate*, *heate* &c. 212; Shaks. *fret* : *net* Ven. 67 : *set* Ven. 621 : *let*, *debt* Lucr. 648, *frets* : *intreats* Ven. 75 : *begets* Ven. 768; AuV. *fret* Isa. viii, 21, 1 Sam. i, 6 (6); Heyw. *frets* I, 218, II, 398, *fret* III, 237 : *net* VI, 171 (6); BJ. *fret* P. iii. i, *freates* EMH. iii. iv; GH. *fret* : *yet* 60; GF. *frets* : *violets* 254. **Pt.** Harvey *frettid* 46; mod.

diall. *frēt, fret* m. and w. Yks. **Ppl.** Sk. *frete* : *bete* ppl. I, 79; Hawes Past. Pleas. *fret* : *helmet* (Percy Soc.) 180; Cov. *frett* Lev. xiii, xiv, *fretten* Lev. xiv; Gasc. *yfret* I, 102; Shaks. *fretted* (usual), MV. iv. i, 77 (Qq. *fretten*, Ff. *fretted*); AuV. *fretted* Ezek. xvi, 43, *fret* Lev. xiii, 55; mod. diall. *fretn, fritn* Sc. Nhb. w. Yks., *fretnd* e. An.

§ 119. **Get (beget, forget).** In OE. this word only occurs in a few compounds, such as *be-, forġietan.* The palatalized consonant survives till the beginning of our period in inf. *forȝete* (Or. Sap.), *forȝete* (Bk. St. Albans), pt. *foryate* (3 Kings' Sons [E. E. T. S.] p. 38), ppl. *forȝeten(e)* in Cx. and Or. Sap. These forms are still in Scotch. See NED. s. v. *Get.* The uncompounded vb. *get* is from ON. *geta,* adopted in early ME.; from this word come the forms with *g* in *be-, forget.* Throughout the verb, in inf., pt. and ppl., long and short forms occur side by side. The vowel of *geta* was lengthened in an open syllable in ME. (cf. Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* § 65, 3). It rimes in the *Book of St. Albans* with *meete,* in Sk. with *intrete, sweat* vb., *meat, eat,* in Tott. with *heat, threte* sb., *thrette* sb., *frette* vb., *set*; in Pica with *iset*; in Shaks. with *heat, great, set, threat,* and *gets* with *eats* and *frets*; *beget* rimes with *eate* and *meate* in R. Chester *Loue's Martyr* p. 94. Unna gives both long and short rimes from J. Heywood's *Spider and Flie* (p. 10). Cx. spells it *gete* and in pr. ppl. *geting.* Lkbsch. has *gete, geete* (pp. 26-7), CeP. *get(te), gehet, -yt, (for)geet* (pp. 29-30), *geyte* occurs in Ellis (iii. III, 51). These spellings and the long rimes provide evidence enough for the existence of a long vowel in the 16th century, and [*gīt*] is still spoken in the dialect of s. e. and s. Lan. The form *geat* cannot be taken as evidence of length; in the play *Republica geat* occurs riming with *debte* (l. 1897). Only a short vowel is given in the phoneticians (see Ellis pp. 890, 891, Hauck p. 46, Gill pp. 62, 94, Butler p. 49, &c.), and it was the usual form in 16th century. The inf. *git* comes from ON. *gita.* NED. gives it for the 14th-15th centuries and for the 19th century. I have also found it in Ellis (i. I, 96. 99), Levins (: *flit, hit,* p. 149), Levins also has *get* (p. 86); Heyw. (*git* : *it* VI, 135, *forgit* : *bit* IV, 295), and in Sm. (p. 798). It is also given by Bullokar (Plessow p. 334), but not in the other phoneticians.

In the pt. there are forms in *a*, *o*, *u* and a doubtful one in *e*. This is from Fisher (p. 128), I give the passage, so that the reader may judge for himself. "A meruaylous thynge that they beynge so rude neyther taught by Plato nor arystotle or ony other philosopher but gete theyr lyuynge by fysshynge sholde so meruaylously dispute." If this be taken as pt., it would be either the short ME. *get* from the ppl. or from OE. *geat, gēaton*. It is not given by NED. for sg. [*gīt*] is pt. in the dialects of w. Yks. Lan. Chs., and Fisher was a Yorkshireman. For the forms in *a* I have found only long rimes, except in Sp. (iii. v, 7). It rimes in Sk. with *probate, ıcrate* pt. p. 376, Robinson *hate* p. 86, BJ. *gat it, relate it* (V. i. ii). Smith distinguishes between [*gāt* = portam] and [*găt* = genuit]. See *De recta ... Græcæ Pronuntiatione* p. 34. Butler gives [*ă*] (p. 49). Gill gives [*ă*] twice (pp. 62, 65); it does not occur in the other phoneticians. It is noticeable that W. de Worde changes Cx.'s spellings *gat, gatt(e)* to *gate*, and that *gate* is the more frequent spelling in the AuV., although modern editors always print *gat*. *Gote* had already occurred as sg. in Paston Lett. I, 133 (Dibelius § 265), but the form with *o* was not established till near the end of the 16th century. Surrey's pt. pl. *gut* (Ellis i. I, 216) is hard to explain, there is no similar form in NED. Cf. ppl. *fforgutn* (ib. i. II, 25 *note*, from Ld. Stafford).

In the ppl. *forȝeten* in Cx. and *forȝetene* in Or. Sap. show the OE. palatal consonant. Forms with *e* are rare after 1500, I have only found them in Barc., BernH. (1610 ed. changes to *gotten*), Fitzherbert, and Heywood's attempt to represent the Lancashire dialect. *Getn* is still common in the dialects of the north. The pt. vowel is seen in *gatte* (Ellis iii. I, 335), *gat* (ib. iii. II, 54); these forms are not noticed in NED. *Gate* had already occurred in the *Paston Letters* II, 205. *Gityn* with the vowel of the inf. occurs in CeP., NED. also gives *gyte* from the Paston Letters, and *gitten* for the 16th century. It is not in the dialects. The standard forms of the ppl. are nowadays *got* and *forgotten*. This distinction was not established in our period. After 1600 *gotten* was rarer than *got* except in Cocks and Voy. C., and of course AuV., but that represents an older phase of English. As Voy. C. and Cocks are both MSS., it look as if *got* first supplanted *gotten* in

literary usage. A further point remains to be discussed and that is the length of the *o* in the pt. and ppl. This *o* was introduced in ME. into these verbs on the analogy of Class I and IV, where it was long. There is no reason to suppose that it was, as at present, short in *get*, especially as *get* could show a long vowel in inf. and pt. at that time. That it could still be long in the 15th century is shown by the rime *forgote* : *dote* quoted by Dibelius (§ 262) from the London Pop. Lit. XXI, 297. It has some significance, but not much, that the NED.'s earliest example of *gotten* with a double consonant, also of *got* without the final *e* is from the 16th century. CeP. has the forms *gooten*, *gootten*, and Latimer (Ellis iii. II, 207) *goott*; but *oo* does not necessarily mean length. Rudolf (p. 11) gives examples like *boottom*, *floocke*, *soofte* from Tindale. A XXVI has the rime *forgote* : *shote* (p. 110), Hawes *forgotten* : *broken* (p. 139), and Gasc. once has *forgote* : *wrote* (I, 143), but on nine other occasions he has short rimes and once he rimes *gotte*, *wrote*, *trotte* (I, 177). *Forgote* rimes with *note* in Bale (*3 Lawes* l. 292), *forgotten* with *wroken* in Sk. (p. 334), *broken* in Bolle (p. 224), *gotten* with *broke*[*n*] in *All for Money* (l. 806 in *Shaks. Jbch.* XL, date 1578). There are no examples of long rimes in *o* for the pt. The short rimes begin with Sk. who rimes *forgotten* : *rotten* (I, 327) and they are very common all through. Long *o* is not given in any of the phoneticians. It looks as if at the beginning of the period there were in the inf. alternative forms with long and short *e*, in the ppl. with long and short *o*, in the pt. two sets with long and short *a*, and with long and short *o*; that the long forms in inf. and with *ō* were already obsolescent, while the long *a* lasted through the whole period. See also § 200. This shortening is rather difficult to explain. There were a pt. and ppl. in ME. with (*ĕ*), see NED., the inf. may have been shortened by their influence (cf. *let*, *dread* §§ 159, 161). And then the other parts may have been shortened by sympathy.

Inf. Cx. *gete* E. 21, R. 13, *forgete* Cu. 8, *forgetyng* Cu. 6, 7 (v. o.); Or. Sap. *forȝete* 331; Bk. St. Albans *forgete* : *meete* e iij b, *foryet* f iij b; A XXVI *forgete* 153; Sk. *get* : *intrete*, *swete* vb. (= *sweat*) I, 16, *gete* : *meate*, *eate* 336; Pica *get* : *iset* ppl. 69; Ellis A *gete* (*for-*) (7), *get*, *gett* (9), *git* i. I, 96. 99 (Dacre);

Fisher *gete* (*for-*) usual, *forgetteth* 336, *-ing* 367; Ellis B *get*, *gett(e)* usual, *gete* ii. II, 42, *geyte* iii. III, 51 (prioress); BernH. *gete* (*for-*) (8), *get*, *gett(e)* (*for-*) (9); Tott. *get* : *heat* 249, *forgete* : *threte* sb. (66), *forgeat her* : *better* 181, *forget* : *thrette* sb., *frette* vb., *set* 199; Hoby *gete* (*be-*, *for-*) usual, *geat* 47, 71, 96, *get*, *gett* (*be-*, *for-*) (6); Shaks. *get* : *heat* Ven. 93, *great* Lucr. 878, *gette* : *set* Compl. 134, *threat* Lucr. 549, *gets* : *eats* AYL. ii. v, 42, *begets* : *frets* Ven. 768; Heyw. *get* (*for-*, *be-*) usual, *git* : *it* VI, 135, *forgit* : *bit* IV, 295; Sm. *get* (*for-*, *be-*) usual, *git* 798; Cocks *get* (*for-*) usual, *geting* 7; Deloney *Str. Hist.* *get* : *sit* (Percy Soc.) 16, *wet* 21. *Get*, *gett(e)* (*be-*, *for-*) alone in Barc., Cov., Hall, Ascham, Crowley, Ellis C, Gasc., LyE., LyP., Kyd, Und., Ellis D, BJ., Voy. C. **Pt.** Cx. *gate* GB. 22, *forgate* B. 67, *begate* E. 59, *gat* B. 166, *forgat* R. 108, *begat* M. a ij, *gatte* M. D vj, *thow gate* M. Q j; (*gate* always in R., usually in GB., in M. in 400 pp. *gate* 13, *gat* 14, *begat* 3); Lkbsch. *gate* sg. (5); CeP. *gote* pl. (1); Sk. *gat* I, 11, *gate* : *probate* : *wrate* pt. 376; Ellis A *gat* (3), *forgatt* (1), *forgate* (2), *gut* pl. i. I, 216 (Surrey, 1523), *forgote* sg. iii. I, 329 (Sir W. Bulwer, 1529); Barc. *gat* (1), *gate* (*for-*) (2); Pica *gote* 48; Fisher *gate* (*for-*) usual, *gatte* 128, *gete* 128; Ellis B *gate* (1), *forgat* (1), *gotte* iii. II, 144 (Barlo, a. 1540); BernH. *gatte*, *forgat* (5), *gate* (*for-*) (7), *gote* 458, 609; Cov. *gat* (*for-*, *be-*) usual, *begot* Gen. vi; Hall *gat*, *gatt(e)* (*be-*, *for-*) usual, *gate* 159, *got(te)* (5); Tott. *got* : *not* 250; Ascham *gat(te)* (5); Machyn *gatt* (2); Hoby *beegat* (1), *gote* (3); Ellis C *gatt* (1), *gott* (*for-*) (2); Gasc. *got(t)* (*for-*) (9), *gat(t)* (*be-*, *for-*) (5); Harvey *got* (1), *gat* (2); Lei. Corr. *got(t)* (*for-*) (5); LyE. *got* (*for-*) (2, v. r. *forgat*); LyP. *forgot* (3), *begot* (1), *-gat(te)* (3), *-gate* (1); Eliz. & Jas. *gott* 15 (J.); Robinson *gate* : *hate* (Arb.) 86, 56; Kyd *gat* (1), *got* (9), *begat* (1), *-got* (1), *forgat* (1); Sp. *got(t)* (o.), *gat* (once in rime), *forgat* (2), *-gate* (4); Und. *got(te)* (*for-*) always, *begate* 287; Mann. *gott* (1), *forgot* (1); Ellis D *got(t)* (3); Shaks. *got* (*be-*, *for-*) usual, *thou got'st* Tp. ii. i, 291, *gat* : *at* Per. ii. ii, 6 (not in Gower's speeches); AuV. *got* (5), *gate* (20), *forgat* (2), *-gate* (6), *begat* (20), *-gate* (c. 100); Heyw. *got* (*for-*) always, *begot* (7), *begat* (1); BJ. *got* 5, *gat* A. iv. i, *gat it* : *relate it* V. i. ii, *forgot* (5), *begot* (1); Sm. *got* (*for-*) always, *begat* (1), *begot* : *not* 371; Voy. C. *gott* (*be-*, *for-*) always; Cocks *got(t)* (*for-*) always; mod. diall. *gat* Sc. n. Cy. Yks., *gēt*, *gīt*

w. Yks. Lan. Chs. **Ppl.** Cx. *goten* (*for-*, *be-*) Cu. 3 (usual), *geten* M. g j, P vj, c cv, *foryeten* M. dd iij, *forgete* GB. 199; Lkbsch. *goten* (5), *geton*, *-en* (2), *begoten*, *-yn* (7), *begotten*, *-on* (4), *bogottone* (1), *forgoten* (2); Or. Sap. *forȝetene* 331; CeP. *goten*, *-yn*, *gooten*, *gootten*, *gotton*, *forgotyn*, *-gettyn*, *agette*, *getyn*, *gityn*; Sk. *forgotten* : *rotten* I, 327, *forgoten* I, 22; Ellis A *goten*, *-yn*, *-on* (*for-*) (5), *gotten*, *-yn* (*for-*) (4), *fforguten* i. II, 25 *note* (Ld. Stafford), *got* iii. II, 167 (agent), *gatte* iii. I, 335 (Ambass.); A XXVI *forgote* : *shote* inf. 110, *forgete* : *wyte* inf. 118, *getyn* 197, *goten* 217; Fisher *goten* (*be-*, *for-*) in earlier part of Bk., *gotten* (*be-*) in later part; Barc. *gotten*, *-yn* (3), *gotyne* (1), *get* I, 244, *forgoten* (1); Ellis B *goten*, *-on* (*for-*) (4), *gotten*, *-yn*, *-on* (*for-*) (6), *gott* (3), *goott* iii. II, 207 (Latimer), *gat* 54 (herald); BernH. *goten* (*be-*, *for-*) (8), *gotten* (*for-*) (2), *gote* 610, *get(te)* 563, 707 [1610 ed. *gotten* in both cases]; Fitzherbert *gette* § 68, *goten* § 154; Wyatt *gott* : *shot* sb., *forgot* ppl. XVIII, 497, *gott* XIX, 439 : *wott* 427, *gotten*, *-in* (*for-*) XVIII, 514, XIX, 417 (3), *forgott* XIX, 437; Surrey *got(t)* (*for-*) 291 (*v. r.* gote), 297 (4), *gotton* 311; Cov. *gotten* (*be-*, *for-*) usual, *begot* Gen. vi, 1; Hall *gotten* (*be-*, *for-*) always; Tott. *forgot* : *knot* 174, *not* 234; Ascham *gotten* (*for-*) always; Hawes *forgotten* : *broken* (Percy Soc.) 139; Machyn *be-gotten* (2); Hoby *gotten* (*be-*, *for-*) usual, *got* 114; Ellis C *gotten* (*be-*, *for-*) usual, *forgot* ii. III, 17 (Sir T. Smith); Gasc. *got*, *gott(e)* (*be-*, *for-*) (26, many short rimes), *forgote* : *wrote* I, 143. 193, *gotten* (*for-*) (21), *ygot* (4); Harvey *gotten*, *-in* (*for-*) (9), *forgott(e)* (2); Lei. Corr. *gotten* (*for-*) usual, *got(t)* (*for-*) (4); LyE. *gotten* usual, *forgotten* (11), *forgot* (4), *begotten* (1); LyP. *gotten* (6), *got* (3, 2 for metre), *begotten* (2), *begot* (3: not), *forgotten* (4), *forgot* (9, often for metre and rime); Eliz. & Jas. *forgotten* (3), *ill-gotten* (1); Kyd *got* (8), *gotten* (8), *begot* (1), *forgot* (9), *-ten* (3); Sp. *got* (3), *gott(e)* (4), *gotten* (o.), *ygot* (1), *begott* (1), *begotten* (1), *forgot* (1); Und. *gotten* (*for-*) usual, *gotte* (1); Nashe *begote* LS. G 2; Dee *gotten* (1); Mann. *gotten* (*for-*) (4); Ellis D *gotten*, *-in* (2), *gott* (1), *forgotten* (1); Shaks. *gotten* (5), *got* (v. o.), *begotten* (4), *begot* (v. o.), also only *first-*, *true-*, *mis-begotten*, but *new begot* 1H6 i. i, 79, *forgotten* (15, only in this form as adj.), *forgot* (v. o.), *unbegot* (1), *unbegotten* (1), *ungot* (1), *ungotten* (11); AuV. *got* (2), *gotten* (25), *begotten* (24), *first begotten* (1), *forgot* (1), *forgotten* (46); Heyw. *got*

(33), *gotten* (3), *getten* IV, 253 (Lanc. dial.), *begot* (22), *forgot* (36), *forgotten* (3), *forgetten* IV, 216 (Lanc. dial.); BJ. *got* (20), *gotten* (4, of which 2 for metre), *begot* (1), *begotten* (2), *well-begotten* adj. (1), *forgot* (15), *forgotten* (2), *mis-gotten* (1); Sm. *got* (5), *begot* (2), *forgot* (1), *forgotten* (6); Voy. C. *gotten* (10); Cocks *gotten* (v. o.), *gott* (2), *forgot* (2), *forgotten* (7); mod. diall. *gotn* Sc. Sh. I. n. Cum. Yks. Lanc. Chs. n. Stf. Not. Lin. Lei. Rut. Shr. Glo. Sur., *gatn, getn, gotn* Sc. n. Cy. Yks. Lan. I. Ma. Chs. Der. Not. Lin., *fərgetn, fəgetn* Sc. Sh. & Or. I. n. Cy., *fəgot* Shr. w. Som. Dev., *gat* n. Yks., *əgot* w. Som.

BJG. see § 104. Gill, *inf.* get (pp. 20, 94); forget (pp. 62, 65, 94), *pt.* forgat or forgot (p. 62), forgat (65), *ppl.* forgotn (62), *forgótn* (137).

§ 120. **Give (forgive).** In OE. the inf. was in WS. *ȝiefan*, which became *ȝiue, ȝiiue*; in non-WS. the inf. was *ȝefan*, which gave *ȝeue*. *Yeue* comes down as late as 1587 (Ellis ii. III, 108, in a state document, probably a traditional spelling). During the 16th century the form was never very common. In addition we have the forms *giue, geue, gif, gi*. There have been many attempts to explain *give*, but the general opinion is now that it comes from ON. (See NED., Björkmann pp. 154 to 156, Luick *Stud.* p. 206). One must not conclude that wherever *giue* was printed, [ĭ] was pronounced; see the remark in Moser's Bale, § 3 above. *Geue* is explained by Luick as arising either from a mixture of *giue* and *yeue* or from a lengthening of *giue*. In the first case it would have [ę̄]; in the latter [ē]. The rimes he had investigated afforded no evidence for a decision (*ibid.* p. 206). There are numerous spellings in *ie, ee, ea*; see the lists. The testimony of the phoneticians and rimes in the 16th century points to [ē]. Bullokar gives the symbol which he employs for [ī] arising from ME. [ē], see Hauck, p. 65. Hart gives [ī] (p. 66), *forgive* and *giver* however short (p. 68). Cheke gives [ī]; see Ellis p. 891. Bauermeister says that in Sp. *giue* and *liue* rime a good deal with one another, with ME. [ī] and also with ME. [ē]. Long rimes are also found in Bale, Wyatt, Crowley, Shaks., usually with *-ieve* as in *believe, grieve*, once in Bale with *Eve* (T. 24). These rimes point to ME. [ē], and therefore to the lengthening of *i* in *give* in an open syllable as the

source. (Cf. *weet* §§ 3, 32.) [*Gīv*] is still used in the modern dialect of East Devonshire (Wright, p. 462). Forms spelt with *f* come down as late as Machyn, who has *gyffe* six times. This proves nothing as to his pronunciation, though; for he has the spelling *grayff* (= *grave*) on p. 120. That the inf. however may have been pronounced with *f* is rendered likely by Rastell's rime, *gyffe* : *lyfe* : *stryfe* (*4 Elem.* l. 938). If this pronunciation with *f* existed, it might be explained through the influence of the pt., where forms with *f* and *v* existed side by side. *Gi*, which arose from an unstressed form, is very frequent in modern dialects. It occurs in Ellis (iii. II, 65) and seven times in BJ. It is perhaps to be found in *Godgigoden* (Shaks. *Rom. and Jul.* i. ii, 58), which has been variously interpreted. Gill describes it as *Mopsæ* (p. 33).

The OE. pt. sg. was *geaf*, pt. pl. *gēafon*, which became in later ME. *yaf* or *yef*, *yāuen* or *yēuen* according to dialect. The latest evidence for a pt. in *y* is in Smith who says: Ia. [*i. e.* the sound represented in modern English by *ya*]. *Rarissimè apud Anglos reperitur, apud veteres tamen magis, quàm apud eos qui hodie vivunt: ut Porta* yät, *millefolium* yarou, *dabat* iäv or iäf ... (p. 17). A pt. with *y* had occurred in Cx. and Lkbsch., *yaue* occurs in a MS. of Skelton's, but the printer of 1523 altered it to *gaue*. The pt. in *g* of course comes from the ON. verb. The latest examples of a pt. in *e* are *geue* (Ellis ii. II, 46) in a letter from a tradesman in the year 1533, and *gewye* (ii. II, 153) in a badly spelt letter written in or about 1539. The voiceless *f* of the pt. sg. was voiced by the influence of the other parts of the verb (inf., 2 ps. sg. pt., pt. pl., ppl.), which had *v*. This *v* is already found in the sg. in Wyclif (see Dibelius, § 260), Cx. has not got it, though it occurs in Lkbsch. and CeP. It becomes general after 1500. Smith mentions a form with *f* as late as 1568, see the quotation above. That the vowel of the pt. was still occasionally short in the 16th century may be inferred from spellings like *gaffe* and the rime with *staff* (A XXVI, 108). Cheke spells it *gav* twice (pp. 61, 100), but also *gaav* (pp. 64 and 93), and *gave* (p. 93). Smith gives it with a short vowel (p. 36). Gill gives [*ā*] ten times, [*ă*] once (p. 118, where it may be a misprint). The prevalence of the short vowel cannot be judged from the spelling after the

form *gaue* had established itself, as that could be either short or long. [*Găv*] is very common in modern dialects. It probably died out of educated speech in the latter half of the sixteenth century, as it never occurs in rime and, except for the doubtful instance in Gill, is ignored by all phoneticians subsequent to Smith. *Gave* riming with *graue* and *haue* (then always long) occurs as early as Pica. See also § 200. The form *ga'* in BJ. arose through want of stress; it is still common in the dialects.

In the ppl. we have the following forms: *youen, govyn, geuen, yeuen, yyeuen, geyffen, geaven, geoven, geeuen, yeue, geffyn, gyfen, gyff, gauen, gaue, giuen, yiuen, givn, gin, giue.* The forms in *o* were already obsolescent at the beginning of the period; they are found in Cx., Lkbsch. and Ellis. The latest is *youen* in Ellis (iii. II, 226) apparently before 1533, and *geoven* (i. III, 38) in the year 1592. [*Gōv*] is still in dialect use. The forms with *y* begin to die out after 1500. Ȳ is preserved longest at the end of state documents in phrases such as "Given under Our hand and seal"; this was a stereotyped formula, and so the old spelling was repeated from document to document. The latest examples are from Ellis (iii. III, 381) of the date 1572, and in the archaic language of Sp. The forms with *f* show the influence of the inf. They come down as late as Machyn; they are not to be found in rimes of the 16th century or in modern dialects. Süssbier explains the form *gaven* as follows (p. 83): "*a* in *gavyn* (p. 143) steht für *e* und ist bezeichnend für die Aussprache". As *gaue* and *gan* are to be found in so many dialects, it is not impossible that *gavyn* in CeP. really shows the pt. vowel. The only example of *gaue* in ppl. is from Shaks. (Ven. 571). It is in the modern dialect of Warwickshire; see the lists. There now remain the forms in *e* and *i*. That there existed a form pronounced with [ī], the rimes, the spellings in *ie, ee* and *ea*, and the modern dialect form (*gīn*) leave no doubt. Bullokar gives a long vowel (Hauck p. 65); Hart is doubtful (Jespersen p. 66); Gill twice gives a short vowel. The form *gyn, gin* in CeP., BJ. and Heyw. is not given in NED. before the 19th century. It is obviously a contraction of *given*, cf. *rin* for *riven* in modern dialects. *Give*, which is still in dialects, I have not found later than Cx.,

though *gyff* and *geue* are in Ellis. NED. cites *giue* from Wyrley's *Armorie* 129 (1592), and *geve* from Picton's *Liverpool Records* I, 92 (1595).

Inf. Cx. *gyue* E. 50, B. 75 (usu.), *geue* C. cj, M., *gyf* B. 70, *gyfe* B. 199, *yeue* GB. 277, R. 15 (4); Or. Sap. *ȝiue* (1), *ȝeue* (2), *ȝif* (2); Lkbsch. *yeue* (v. o.), *yefe* (1), *yiue* (1), *geue* (14), *gefe* (1), *gef* (1), *geyf* (1), *gyue, for-* (5), *giue* (4), *gyf* (3), *gyfe* (1), *gife* (1), *giff* (1); CeP. *yeve* (o.), *yeff* (1); Ellis A *yeue* (7), *geue* (10), *geyffe* (1), *geuf* (1), *geff* (1), *giue* (3), *gyve* (5), *gyff(f)* (3), *gif(f)* (4), *gyfe* (1), *gife* (1), *gi'* (1); Rastell 4 Elem. *gyffe* : *lyfe, stryfe* 938; Barc. *gyue* (only form); Bale *giue* : *greue* KJ. 19, *beleue* 3 L. 112, *Eue* T. 24, *belieue* GP. 320, *geuer* : *beleuer* T. 22, with one exception always spelt *gyue, forgyue*, KJ. 78 has *geue*; Heywood Sp. & Fl. *giue* : *liue* 243, 322 (6), "im Versinnern promiscue *geue* und *giue*" (Unna p. 16); Fisher *giue, gyue, for-* usu., *gyf* 313; Ellis B *yeue* (2), *geue, for-* (16), *gewye* (1), *gewe* (1), *geff* (1), *giue, gyue* (12), *gyf(fe)* (2), *gyfe* (1); BernH. *gyue, giue, geue* all v. o.; Cov. *geue* always; so also Hall; Wyatt *gyue* XIX, 186 : *greue* 184, *lyue, clyue* sb. 185, *lyue* 208, *giue* 197, *geue* : *leue* 198; Surrey *geue* 311; Tott. *geue* : *liue* 164, *giue* : *liue* 183; Tott. B. *geue* commoner than *giue*, used even in rimes with *liue*; Ascham *giue, gyue* usu., *geue* (9); Crowley *giue* : *belieue* (E. E. T. S.) 17; Machyn *gyff(e)* (6); Hoby *geue, giue* (v. o.); Ellis C *yeue* (1), *geue* (7), *gyue, giue, for-* (9); Gasc. *giue, for-, giues* : *lyues* II, 24, *giue* : *outliue* II, 315, *liue* 319 (13), *geue, for-* : *liue* I, 39, *geues* : *lyues, driues* II, 261 (19), *geeue* II, 124; Lei. Corr. *geue*; LyE. *giue*; LyP. *giue, for-* : *liue* III, 347 (v. o.), *geue* (7), *geeue* (2); Und. *geue* (16), *giue* (21), *geeue* (1); Sp. Bauermeister (pp. 18-19) says *liue* and *giue* rime a good deal with one another, with ME. *ī* and also with ME. *ȳ*, and gives examples of rimes with *liue, driue, grieue, prieue*; Ellis D *giue* (o.), *geue* (1); Shaks. *giue* : *liue* Lucr. 987, 1053 (7) : *belieue* H 8 Prol. 8, *give me* : *relieue me* Per. v. ii, 269 (Gower); Heyw. *giue, for-* : *liue* I, 302 (v. o.); BJ. *giue* (v. o.), *gi'* (7); Sm. *giue* : *liue* 335 (v. o.); Voy. C. *giue* (2); Cocks *geue, for-* (v. o.), *geaue* (1); Bolle's Liederbücher *gieue* 131, *giue* : *releeue* 34, *giues* : *driues* 232. **Pt.** Cx. *gaf, gaff(e)* usual in all, *gafe* Cu. 9, R. 31 (o. in M.), *gaaf(fe)* B. 24, E. 31 (o. in B. and E.), *foryaf* M. a v, *gauen* pl. R. 27; Lkbsch.

sg. *yaue* (12), *yafe* (2), *gaue* (8), *gafe* (2), *gaff(e)* (2) pl. *yaue* (8), *yaf* (2), *gaue* (3), *gafe* (1), *gaf* (1); CeP. sg. *gave*, *gawhe* pl. *gawhe*; Sk. I, 361 MS. *yaue*, ed. 1523 *gaue*; A XXVI *gaff* 107 : *staff* 108 (6), *gafe* 272, *gaue* 145, 263; Ellis A *yeue* (2), *gaff* (3), *gaf* (3), *geff* (1), *gaue* (10); Barc. *gaue* I, 5, II, 293; Pica *gaue* 5, 25 : *graue*, *haue* 68; Fisher *gaue* (o.), *thou gauest* 121, 128, *gaue thou* 124; Ellis B *gaf* (1), *gaff(e)* (2), *gewye* (1), *geue* (1), *gaue* (o.); Machyn *gaff* (1), *gayf(f)*, *gayffe* (v. o.); BJ. *gaue* (o.), *ga'* E. i. i, iv. v (4); in all other writers of the period only *gaue*; mod. diall. *ga(v)*, *gov* Sc. n. Cy. Yks. e. Lan. I. Ma. War. Shr. Glo. e. An. Sur. Cor., *giv* m. Yks. Lin. Lei. Brks. e. An. Ken. Sur. Dor., *gaved*, *guved* Sc. Nhb. w. Wor., *gived*, *gied* = *gīd*, from Sc. to Cor. **Ppl.** Cx. *gyuen* E. 57 (usu.), *giuen* E. 21, *gyue* GB. 198, E. 63 (6 in 400 pp. of M.), *forgyue* R. 72, *geuen* C. d vj, R. 9 (rare in M.), *yeuen* B. 41, 101 (rare in M.), *youen* GB. 53, E. 57, 61, *yeue* (4 in M.); Lkbsch. *yeuen*, *-in* (v. o.), *yeue* (1), *yiuen* (3), *youen*, *-yn* (11), *yeouen* (1), *geven* (o.), *geffyn* (1), *gyven* (6), *gyfen* (2), *gyffen* (1), *guyffen* (1), *giuun*, *-on*, *-en(ne)* (rare); CeP. "fast immer *e*", *gevyn*, *gewyn*, *gyeven*, *gyffyn* (1), *gyn* (1), *gavyn*; Or. Sap. *ȝiuen(e)* (4), *ȝeuen*, *for-* (2); Ellis A *yeuen(e)*, *-yn*, *zeven*, *yevne* (19), *youen* (1), *geven*, *-yn*, *-in* (13), *geve* (1), *gyuen*, *-yn*, *giuen* (9), *giffen*, *-on*, *gyffen* (3), *govyn* (1); Barc. *gyuen*, *-yn* (usu.); Ellis B *yeven*, *-yn* (8), *youen* (1), *geven*, *-yn*, *-in* (11), *geve* (1), *gyven*, *given* (10), *gyffyn*, *-en* (3), *gyff* (1); BernH. *geuen*, *gyuyn*, *giuen*, *-in* &c.; Wyatt *geven* (3), *forgyven* (1); Surrey *geuen*; Cov. *geuen*, *for-* usu., *gyuen* Isa. lxiii; Hall *geuen* (o.), *gyuen* Edw. iv, 6 b; Tott. *geuen* : *reuen* 203; Ascham *geuen*, *gyuen*, *giuen*; Machyn *gyffyn*, *-en* (6), *gyffvyn* (1), *gyven* (1), *geyffen* (1); Hoby *geuen*, *giuen*; Ellis C *yeven* (1), *geven* (8), *geaven* (1), *geoven* (1), *given*, *gyven* (5); Gasc. *giuen* : *euen* II, 278 (usu.), *geuen* (4), *geeuen* (1); PPP. *gieuen* III, 91; Harvey *gevin*, *given*, *givn*, *givne* (1 each); Lei. Corr. *geven*, *given*; LyP. *giuen*, *for-* (usu.), *geuen* (1); Kyd *giuen*, *gyuen* (23), *geuen* (2); Sp. *given* (usu.), *yeuen* : *euen*, *heaven* Sc. Apr. 114; Und. *giuen* (15), *geuen* (6), *geeuen* (1); Ellis D *given*, *giuen* (usu.), *gevin* (2 Sc.); Shaks. *giuen* (usu.), *gaue* Ven. 571; AuV. *giuen* Ps. xxi, 2 (v. o.); Heyw. *giuen*, *for-* : *euen* VI, 156, *driuen* VI, 159 (o.), *giv'n* V, 57, VI, 99, *gin* V, 14; BJ. *gi'n* New Inn I. v; *giu'n* V. i. i, *giuen* V. ii. i (both o.); Cocks *geven* (v. o.), *geaven* (1), *given* (3);

Bolle Liederbücher *given* : *heaven* 157 : *even* 65; mod. diall. *gan, gen, gīn, gon* w. Yks. Lan. Chs. Der. Not. Lin. s. Wor. e. An., *gidn* Som., *govn* Nhb. (*rare*), *gēv* s. Not. War. s. Wor. e. An., *giv* Brks. e. An., *gov, gōv* I. Ma. e. An., *gived, gīd* Gall. w. Yks. s. Not. War. Shr. Brks. e. Suf. Som. Cor.

BJG. (c. 18) gives "*give, gave, given.* So *bid*, and *sit*". Gill *inf.* gïv (11), gïv (1), *Mopsæ* gï (1), forgiv (2), misgiv (1); *pt.* gäv (10), gav (1); *ppl.* givn (2).

§ 121. **Knead.** Though I have only found weak forms, the NED. gives pt. *knead* from Matthew's ed. of the Bible (1537), and ppl. *kned, knead, knoden, knodden, knoded, knedded.* Strong forms are common in the dialects, see the lists:

Mod. diall. **pt.** *nad, ned, nod* Cum. Yks. Lan. n. Der. Shr., **ppl.** *nedn* m. Yks., *nodn* n. Cy. w. Yks. s. Chs., *nad, ned* n. Cy. w. Yks. n. Der. Shr. e. Suf.

§ 122. **Lie.** Confusion with the weak verb *lay* is found now and again; the inf. *lay, leye* occurs in Cx., Ellis, BernH. (not altered in 1601 ed.) and Machyn. Sp. (i. iv, 10) has the

> "Lo! underneath her scornefull feete was layne
> A dreadfull Dragon with an hideous trayne".

Layne may stand here for *laid* to serve the exigencies of rime, it may also be used in a neuter sense. *Laid* occurs intransitively in the *Child Marriages.* Tusser's pt. *lide* is now frequent in dialects. An inf. *ligge* occurs in Spencer's special dialect, and it is also given by NED. from Brecon (1553) and Greene's *Mourning Garment* (1590), where it rimes with *whigge.* In the ppl. there are two forms, *lain*, the direct descendant of OE. *legen*, and *lien, line* first recorded in the 14th century and formed after the inf. It cannot be said that either form had a distinct advantage over the other in our period; it seems to have been a matter of personal taste which was used. It is perhaps significant that the 1601 ed. of BernH. once changes *lyene* to *lain*, but it leaves *lyen* twice unchanged. [*Liən*] is in the dialects, while *lain* is not. In the poems published in A XXXI of about the year 1540, *ileyn, ilyen* are used on p. 375, but *leyne* : *sleyne* : *agayne* on p. 376.

Inf. Cx. *leye* R. 57, *lye*, *lygge* M.; Ellis A *ly(e)* i. I, 215. 286 (Surrey, Sir B. Tuke), *leye* iii. II, 81 (Gresham), *layenge* iii. II, 129 (German); Ellis B *lyeth* i. II, 49 (More), *leye* ii. II, 146 (tradesman), *lay* 175 (tradesman); iii. II, 179 (agent); BernH. *lye* usu., *lay* 14, 37, 44 (not altered in later edd.); Machyn *leys*, *lyys* 146; Sp. *lie*, *lye* usu., *ligge* SC. May 125, Sept. 118, *liggen* May 216, Oct. 63: otherwise only *lie*, *ly(e)*. **Pt.** Sk. *laye* : *keye* I, 31 : *saye*, *way* II, 4; Ellis B *lay(e)* i. II, 21. 54 (agent and Sir W. Kyngston), *leye* i. II, 97 (courtier), *lied* iii. III, 93 (copy of MSS.); Hall *lay(e)*, *laie* usu., *ley* 160; Machyn *lay(e)* usu., *la* 310; Child Marriages *laid* (E. E. T. S.) 78; Tusser *lide* (EDS.) 206; Lei. Corr. *ley* 167; Cocks *la* 87, 141 (6); otherwise only *lay(e)*, *laie* from Cx. onwards; mod. diall. *lied* Yks. Lan. Not. Shr. w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *leyn* GB. 254, R. 8, *leyen* R. 8, 128, M. a j, *layn(e)* M. d ij, T iij (4), *layen* B. 20, M. Contents xvii. xvi, *lyen* M. a j, *leyde* R. 10; CeP. *lyne*; Ellis A *lyen* ii. I, 303, iii. I, 199 (both by Pace), *leyn* iii. I, 181 (bishop), *layen* iii. II, 130 (German); Barc. *lyen* I, 273; Ellis B *layen* iii. II, 193 (agent), *lyen* 315 (Cranmer); BernH. *lyene* 21 [1601 *lain*], 308, *lyen* 620, 725; Cov. *lyen* Gen. vi, Lk. v; Hall *lien* (5), *lyen* (1), *layen* (1); Ascham *lyen* (1); Hoby *lien*, *lyen* (1); Child Marr. *laine* 22 (an. 1562); Gasc. *lien*, *lyen* (2); Lei. Corr. *lyne* (3); Dee *lyne* (2); Sp. *lyen* (4), *laine* iv. vii, 15, *layne* i. iv, 10 (? = laid); Ellis D *layne*, *lain* i. III, 152. 209 (both Mead), *lyen* i. III, 247 (Pory), 263 (Mead); Shaks. *laine* Lucr. 233 and 3 in Rom., *lien* Jn. iv. i, 50, Ham. v. i, 190 (Qq. *lien*, Ff. *lain*), Per. iii. ii, 85 (*Qq.* lien, *Ff.* been); AuV. *lien* Jn. xi, 17 (*T.*, *C.*, *G.* lyne, *R.* been) (7), *lyen* Nu. v, 19, *layen* Jn. xx, 12 (*G.* layne, others *layde*, *laid* trans.) (*mod. edd.* lain 6, lien 3, *RV.* lain 5, lien 2); Heyw. *lain(e)* (3), *layne* (2), *lien* (1); BJ. *lien*, *lyen* (1), *lyne* (2); Sm. *lien* (2), *line* (2), *laine* (1), *ouerlain* (1); Cocks *layne* (4); mod. diall. *liən* Sc. Lan. Shr., *lign* m. Yks., *əlai* Wor. *əlaid* w. Som.

BJG. (c. 19) *lie*, *lay*, *lien* or *lain*. Gill *inf.* lj (5), *pt.* lai (2), *ppl.* ljn (1).

§ 123. **Mete.** NED. gives pt. *mett(e)* from 14th-16th centuries, *met* from 14th-17th centuries, *meted* from 17th century on; ppl. *meten* from OE. to 16th century, *mette* from 13th-16th centuries, *metten*, *-on* in 16th century, *mottun* in

16th century, *mete* in 17th century, *moten* from 14th-16th centuries, *met* from 14th-18th centuries, also in dial. in 19th, *meted* from 17th century. *Met* is a weak pt., see Bülbring p. 65, who also gives examples of pt. *metede* from *Vitae SS. Edithae and Ethelredae.*

Pt. Palsgr. *mette*(?) 635; Cov. *meet* Ru. iii; Sp. *mott* CC. 365. **Ppl.** Cx. *meten* D. 26, *moten* D. 44. Otherwise weak.

§ 124. **Quoth.** We have here to do only with the pt. *Quod* (according to NED. the prevailing form from 1350-1550) shows the *d* of pt. pl. and ppl. (OE. *cwǣden, ċweden*); *quoth* the *ð* of pt. sg. (OE. *cwæð*). The difference of consonant in OE. is due to Verner's law. Björkman suggests that the *o* is due to Scandinavian influence, see § 112 above. Bülbring puts it down to the influence of the *w* (p. 64). *Quo, ko, ke, ca* arose through want of stress.

Inf. Barc. *bequethyng* I, 42; Ellis C *bequeth* I, 287. **Pt.** Cx. *quod* R. 21, *qd* M. b vj; Ellis A *quoth* i. I, 253 (More); Barc. *quod* I, 95; BernH. *quod* 35, 21 [1601 *quoth*]; Hoby *quoth* 37, 38 (o.); *catha* in *Rede Me* (Arb.) 37; *ko* Royster D. (Arb.) 44; Gasc. *qd* II, 283, *quod, quoth* (o.); PPP. *quo* II, 190; Lei. Corr. *quod* 217, *quothe* 463 (Burrogh); LyE. *quod* I, 224 [v. r. *quoth*], *quoth* II, 60 (6); LyP. *quoth* (2); Sp. *quoth* (v. o.), *quod* S. lxxv; Ellis D *quoth* i. III, 153 (Mead); Shaks. *ke* Ham. i. ii, 192 (Qo. 1 only), *ke-tha* Per. ii. i, 83, *quoth* Err. ii. i, 62-7 (o.); BJ. *quoth* EMH. iii. i. *Bequeath* always weak.

Gill (p. 73) koth *vel* quoth; *lower down same page* quoth *4 times.*

§ 125. **See.** The inf. occurs only in the form *see* or *se.* In the pt. there are five forms, *saw*(*e*), *say*(*e*), *sigh, see, sed.* The OE. pt. *seah* (Angl. *sæh*) developed in ME. as follows (cf. Bülbring pp. 67 *et seq.*):

1. Angl. *sæh* > *sahh* (Orrm) > *saugh* > *saw*, the standard form in this period.

2. *seah* > *seh* > *seih* > *sey, say.* This is the usual form in Chaucer's rimes. I have found it in Ellis (iii. I, 339) in a letter from a boy, in Machyn (pp. 92, 130), and as *sae* in Harvey (p. 146).

3. Late OE. *sēh* > *seih* > *siih* > *sy*. This occurs in Pyramus and Thisbe riming with *high*, and A XXVI (*sigh* p. 108, *sye* : *die* 227).

4. *see*, which is developed from Angl pt. pl. *sēgon*. According to Kluge, *g* remained after palatal vowels and before velar ones, past the time of the second diphthongization, after which it simply disappeared, leaving no trace. (See Kluge, P. Gr. I, 845, Luick, *Unters.* § 164). This began in the North. In the 16th century it occurs sporadically; in BJ. and Heyw. it is only put into the mouth of vulgar persons. It is not recognised by any of the grammarians or phoneticians. *Sed* (? = *sīd*) occurs in Dee (p. 3), he also uses *saw* twice. The OE. ppl. was *gesegen*, which is still preserved as *seyne*, *seyn* in Lkbsch., CeP. and Ellis. *Seane* in Ellis (ii. III, 11) may stand for this form, or — as is more likely — it may only be a spelling of *seen*. *Syne* in Machyn and Gasc. is difficult to explain. Is it due to extension of pt. *sigh* into ppl.? The standard form *seen* is from Anglian adj. *gesēne* (WS. *gesīene*) = visible, which supplanted the ppl. in north. ME. and gradually found its way southwards. *Sawne* (Shaks., *Compl.* 91) is taken by some as ppl. of *see*; it might be an extension of pt. *saw* into ppl.

Inf. Cx. *seen* R. 107, otherwise only *see* and *se*. **Pt.** Cx. *sawe* C. a vj, B. 205 (usu.), *see* B. 134. 168. 205, M. b v (?), *sawe thou* M. dd vij; CeP. *saw* usu., *se* "vereinzelt"; Ellis A *saw(e)* (5), *see* ii. II, 5, 7 (bishop), iii. II, 98 (Ambass.), *saye* iii. 1, 339 (boy); A XII (Pyramus & Thisbe, c. 1500) *sigh* : *high* (7); A XII (ballads) *se* : *kne*, *me* 589; A XXVI *sigh* 108, *sye* : *die* 227; Myrr. our Ladye *se* 239, 246; Ellis B *saw(e)* (3), *se* i. II, 128 (tradesman), *see* iii. III, 205 (agent); Bale 3 L. *se* : *cytie* 1908; Machyn *saw* 13, *say* 92, 130; Harvey *saw* 26, *sae* 146; Dee *saw* (2), *sed*(?) 3; Shaks. *saw* usu., *see* H 8 i. ii, 12, 2 H 4 iii. ii, 33 (Qq. *see*, Ff. *saw*); Heyw. *saw* usu., *see* I, 41, II, 398, III, 64 (all uned. people); BJ. *saw* usu., *see* EMH. V, 1 (tradesman's wife); otherwise only *saw(e)*, so Lkbsch., Barc., Cov., Gasc., Sp., AuV. etc.; mod. diall. *sī* n. Yks. s. Stf. Lei. Nhp. War. Shr. w. Oxf. Brks. Hnt. e. An. Ess. s. Cy. Wil., *siu* n. Lin., *sawed* Nhp. w. Som., *seed* Sc. n. Cy. Yks. Lan. s. Chs. Midl. Shr. Glo. Hrf. Brks. e. An. s. and sw. Cy. **Ppl.** Cx. *seen* B. 48 (always); Lkbsch. *seen* (11), *sene* (1), *seyne* (7), *sayn* (1); CeP. *sen* (2)

seyn (2); Barc. *sene* (2), *seen* (1), *se* : *be* I, 48; Ellis A *seen* (4), *scene* ii. I, 191 (Ambass.), *seyne* 335 (Ambass.); Ellis B *seen*, *sene* (3), *seyn* iii. II, 224 (merchant), *seyne* ii. II, 150 (tradesman), *sen* iii. II, 138; Machyn *sene* usu., *syne* (2), *sen* (2); Ellis C *seane* ii. III, 11 (agent); Gasc. *seene* usu., *syne* ?? I, 375; Harvey *seen*, *sene* (3), *sen* 164; Lei. Corr. *seen(e)* usu., *senne* 480 (soldier); Eliz. & J. *foresine* 90; Shaks. *seen(e)* usu., *sawne* Compl. 91 (? = sown); BJ. *seen* usu. : *been*, *between* BF. iii, v : *men* P. iii, v; otherwise *seen(e)*, *sene* in Cx., Cov., Sp., AuV., etc.; mod. diall. *sī* Lei. e. An., *seed* n. Ir. and many dialects from north to south, *sawed* Rut. w. Som.

BJG. (c. 18) *see*, *saw*, *seen*. Gill, *inf.* sï (11), si (1), *pt.* sau (2), *ppl.* sïn (1).

§ 126. **Sit.** The form *set* occurs all through, in inf., pt. and ppl., but a distinction has to be made in the explanation of these forms. Franz (p. 165) says that in Shaks. *set* in the sentence *Upon whose weeping margent she was set* (Compl. 39), or, *I was set at worke, Among my Maids* (Hen. 8, iii. i, 74), comes from ME. *seten*, ppl. of *sittan*. Phonologically this may be possible, though I do not think it is right. *Seten* occurs as late as 1500. It is noticeable that this use of *set* = seated, occurs as a ppl. only in the passive. Cf. *3 Kings' Sons* (E. E. T. S.) p. 132 (date c. 1500) "fferaunt *was set* at the kynges boorde with many othis [*sic*] folkes of honour, that sate ther also. Whan the kinge *had seten* ther a while . . ." Also in Hexapla (Rev. iii, 21), T., C. and R. have *haue sitten*, AuV. *am set*. So far as I have been able to gather, you never find 'When he had set down', but you may find 'When he was set'. Cx., Surrey, Und., Shaks. observe this distinction without exception. In any case a passive of *sit* is scarcely possible. It seems obvious then that *set* in these phrases is the ppl. not of *sit*, but of the weak verb *set*. Occasionally confusion arises between this passive use of *set* and the reflexive use of *sit*. In Watson's *Hekatompathia* (Arber) p. 38, the sentence occurs "*My harte is sett him downe twixt hope and feare*". Also in Shaks. 2 H 6, iv. iii, 2 "*The King by this, is set him downe to sleepe*". In the lists I have put the cases of *set* = 'seated' along with the ppl. of *sit*, so that the reader may have all the evidence before him. On the other hand,

when *set(te)* occurs in the inf. (Cx., Hall, Ellis, Heyw.) and pt. (Cx., A XXVI, Ellis, Cov., PPP., LyE., Cocks), it is only a confusion with the weak verb *set,* which approached *sit* so nearly in meaning. Cf. the Dutch confusion of *liggen* and *leggen.* This confusion began early; see Bülbring p. 65, Hanssen p. 45. Conversely confusion of *sit* with *set* occurs, *sate* occurs as a ppl. of *set* (*3 Chron.* [Camden] p. 77), and twice we have in Malory '*euery knyȝt sette in his own place*' (620), '*the knyght sat syr Beaumayns afore the domoisel*' (220). Cf. Baldwin p. 48. With regard to long and short *a* in pt., there are short rimes in A XXVI, Tott., Shaks., Heyw., GF., long rimes in Crowley, Gasc., Sp., GF., GH., Heyw. (in ppl.). Bullokar has [*ă*] for pt. (pp. 67, 152) and ppl. (p. 82). Butler gives [*ā*] (p. 47). [*Set*] is a pt., and [*sătn*] a ppl. in modern dialects. The pt. *sete* (Ellis iii. III, 283) may be a mere spelling of *set,* if not, it is from OE. pt. pl. *sǣton,* Angl. *sēten.* Machyn's pt. *sitt* (p. 233) is of ccurse on the anal. of *rid, rid, rid.* Cf. also *bid.* In the ppl., in addition to the forms with *e* already discussed, we have *sit, sitten, sat, sate. Sit, sitten* are of course formed on the inf., like *bidden.* The forms first occur in the 13th century (a. 1300 in Prose Ps., see Bradley-Stratmann), they are fairly common at the beginning of the period but are gradually displaced by *sat, sate.* They are still in the dialects. *Satte* occurs in *Paston Lett.* (II, 205, also *satyn* II, 50; see Dibelius § 265), it is the only form in Shaks., AuV., BJ. It is not in the dialects.

Inf. Cx. *set* FSA. 377, usually *sit(te), syt(te)*; Hall *sit, syt* usu., *set* 181 b; Machyn *sat* 207 (dyd . . sat? confusion); Ellis C *settinge* iii. IV, 22; Heyw. *sit* usu., also in rime, one rime with *yet* VI, 162; in all other writers only *sit(te), syt(te).* **Pt.** Cx. *sat, satte* R. 12, M. e iij (usu.), *sate* M. a viij, o j, *sette* M. e ij, *sette* refl. M. m iij; CeP. *sate*; Ellis A *sate* i. I, 309; A XXVI *sat* : *yat* 114, *yerat* 127, *satt* : *hat, Wat* 243 (4), *sette* refl. 214; Fisher *sate* (1); Ellis B *satt* (1), *sate* (2), *sette* refl. (1), *sete* refl. iii. III, 283 (Sir W. Eure, Sc.); BernH. *sat, sat(te), sate* (all o.); Tott. *sat* : *wat, flat* 166; Cov. *sat(t)* usu., *set* 1 Sam. xx; Hall *satte* 36, *sat* (v. o.), *sate* 13; Ascham *sate* 151, *sat* refl. 155; Crowley *sate* : *debate* (E. E. T. S.) 15 : *gate* 59; Machyn *sat(t)* usu., *sitt* 233; Hoby *sat, satte* (o.), Ellis C *sate* (3), *sat(t)* (5, 1 refl.); Gasc. *sat, satt(e)* (6), *sate* : *state* II, 232 (4); PPP.

set I, 36. 59 [usu. *sat(t)e*]; LyE. *sate* (6), *sat(te)* (2), *set* II, 69; LyP. *sate* (2), *sat* (3); Sp. *sat, sat(te)* (3), *sate* : *wrate* iii. xii, 31; Ellis D *sat* (2), *sate* (6); Shaks. *sat* : *hat* Ven. 349 (11), *sate* (9); AuV. *sate* always, *satest* always (mod. edd. have *sat* but *satest*); Heyw. *sate* : *therat* VI, 353 (10), *sat* (2); BJ. *sate* A. v. i; Sm. *sat* (8), *sate* (4); Voy. C. *sate* (1); Cocks *sat* (6), *sate* (1), *set* (1); in GF. rimes *disconsolat, state* 152, *Fate* 163, *fat* 183, *state* 185, *that* 235; GH. *sate* : *state* 188; mod. diall. *set, sēt, sit, sīt* Wm. Yks. Lan. Chs. s. Not. n. Lin. War. Sus., *sot, sut* Irel. Chs. s. Stf. Der. War. w. Wor. Shr. e. An. sw. Cy., *sitted* Lnk. **Ppl.** Cx. *seten* D. 45, *sytten* M. e ij, *set(te)* (pass.) M. e ij (o. in M.); Ellis A *sit* i. I, 284 (Sir B. Tuke), *sette* (pass.) ii. I, 251 (Ambass.); A XXVI *sett* (pass.) 210; Ellis B *sytten* iii. II, 252 (agent); Wyatt *sitt* : *witt* XVIII, 280, *sate* XIX, 447; Surrey *sitt* act. : *witt* 310, *set* pass 310; Cov. *sytten* Mk. xi; Hall *set* pass. (o.); Ellis C *sytt, sitt* ii. III, 55 (Fleedwood); Fenton *sit* II, 283; Gasc. *satt* II, 269; Und. *sitten* 233, *sette* pass. 29; Nashe *sit* Str. N. Ep. Ded. A 2; Ellis D *sitten* i. III, 249 (Chas. I), *sat* ii. III, 239 (Mead); Shaks. *sat* (5), *sate* (4), *set* (see discussion); AuV. *sate* (2); Heyw. *sitten* (1), *sat* (1), *sate* : *state* IV, 308 (2); BJ. *sate* (2); Cocks *sat* (1); mod. diall. *sitn* Sc. n. Cy. w. Yks. Lan. Chs. nw. Der. Shr., *satn* Yks., *sɐtn* Sc. Shr., *set, sit* Lnk. (*obs.*), w. Yks. s. Lan.; *sot* Lei. War. Shr. Ess. Som. Dev., *sitted* Dev.

BJG., see § 119. Gill *inf.* sit (2), zit *occid.* (p. 33).

§ 127. **Speak.** The pt. forms *spak, spack(e)* in Cx. probably point to [ă], which still exists in dialects. There are some short rimes, *i. e. spak* : *bak* sb. in the *Court of Love* l. 140, *spake* : *lacke* in *Rede me* (Arb.) p. 118, and Sk. rimes *spake* with *back, lake* (= *lack*) I, 373, also, however, with *make, forsake, vndertake* II, 77. *Speke* in Cx. keeps the vowel of the OE. pt. pl. (*sprǣcon*). *Spiak* is the pt. in the Westmoreland dialect. *Speak* in LyP. does not necessarily point to [ī], cf. § 103. *Spoke* had already occurred in pt. pl. in eME., in pt. sg. it occurs in *Paston Lett.* (II, 42, etc., see Dibelius, § 265). *Spoke* is not the usual form of the pt. till after 1600. Daines makes the *o* of *spoke* short (p. 50). Cf. also *stole*, § 108. *Spoke* occurs in the dialects only in the mixed form *spokt* of w. Som. *Spoken* is the main form of the ppl., *spoke* is only occasional.

Spaken (Ellis ii. III, 159), *spake* (3 Kings' Sons p. 61, Ellis ii. III, 229, Heyw. IV, 32) show the vowel of the ppl. They are not in modern dialects.

Inf. Cx. *speke, bespeke* always; Ellis A *speke* (6), *speeke* (1), *spek* (1); Barc. *speke*; Ellis B *speke* (5), *speeke* (1), *spek* (1), *speak(e)* (2); BernH. *speke*; Hall *speak(e)*, *speke*; Tott. *speak* : *breake* 54, 216, *weake* 264; Ascham *speake, speke*; Machyn *spyke* (3); Lei. Corr. *speake* usu., *spek* 450 (Burghley); LyE. *speake, speke*; Heyw. *speake* : *breake* III, 283, *weater* 335; *speak(e)* only form in Sk., Fisher, Ellis C, etc. **Pt.** Cx. *spak* GB. 26, 27, *spack* R. 7, C. g iij, *spacke* E. 133 (all three v. o.), *spake* C. b iiij, E. 115 (6), *speke* (?) B. 71 (*spack, speck* 15 times in 20 pp. of R., 11 in 400 pp. of M., *spake* once in 400 pp. of M.); Lkbsch. *spake, spakke*; CeP. *spoke* sg. (1), *spake* pl. (2); Sk. *spake* : *back, lake* (= *lack*) I, 373, *make, forsake, vndertake* II, 77; Ellis A *spake* (11), *spak(ke)* (6), *spoke* (3); Barc. *spoke* I, 264; A XXVI *spake* : *Jake* 129 (4), *spak* 211; Ellis B *spake* (11), *spay(c)ke* (3), *spak* (1), *spoke* (1); BernH. *spake* usu., *spoke* (2); Ellis C *spake* (3), *spoke* (1); Gasc. *spake* : *make* I, 135 (8), *spoke* : *smoke* I, 51; Harvey *spake* (5), *spoke* (1); LyP. *spake* (7), *speake* III, 197 (no v. r. in old ed.), *spoke* III, 285; Eliz. and Jas. *spak* 171 (J.); Dee *spake, spak* (1); Sp. *spake* (7), *spoke* (2 in rime); Ellis D *spake* (6); Shaks. *spake* (c. 50), *spoke* (c. 50); *bespake* (3), *bespoke* (2); Heyw. *spake, be-, for-* (v. o.), *spoke, be-* (2), *thou spake* IV, 90, *spakest* IV, 40, *spakst* I, 22; BJ. *spake* (4), *spak* (1, no v. r.), *spoke* (6); Sm. *spake, be-* (5), *spoke, be-* (4); Voy. C. *spoke, spake* (1); Cocks *spoke* (4); *spook* (1), *spok* (1), *spoake* (v. o.), *spake* (4); *spake* alone in Fisher (*thou spake* 103), Cov., Hall, Ascham, Machyn, Hoby, Lei. Corr., LyE., Und., Mann., AuV.; mod. diall. *spak, spēk* Sc. Dwn. n. Cy. Yks. Lan. Ess. n. Dev., *spiak* Wm., *spokt* w. Som., *speaked* Som. **Ppl.** CeP. *spoken, spockyn, spoke*; Ellis A *spokyn, -en* (v. o.), *spoke* (3); Tott. *spoke* : *yoke* 116, *bespoke* : *oke* 261; Ellis C *spoken* (4), *spaken* ii. III, 159 (tradesman); Gasc. *spoken* (o.), *spoke* (2); LyP. *spoken* (3), *spoke* (once for metre); Ellis D *spoken* (o.), *spake* ii. III, 229 (Mead); Shaks. *spoke* Ant. v. ii, 195 (Q. *spoke*, Ff. *spoken*) (c. 90), *spoken* (c. 50), *foul-spoken* (1), *bespoke* (2), *forespoke* (1), *vnspoke, -en* (1 each); Heyw. *spoken, spoke* (about equally often, *spoke* freq. for metre), *spake* IV, 32, *faire-, free-spoken* (1 each), *bespoke* (1), *bespoake*

(1), *bespoken* (1); BJ. *spoken* (6), *soft-, well-spoken* (1 each), *spoke* (7); Sm. *spoken* (9), *spoke* (3); Voy. C. *spoken, spokn* (1 each); Cocks *spoken* (1), *spoaken* (v. o.), *spoake* (1); *spoken* alone occurs in Cx., Lkbsch., Sk., Barc., Cov., Hall, Ascham, Machyn, Hoby, Harvey, Lei. Corr. LyE., Sp., Und., Mann., AuV.; mod. diall. *spōk* Sc. Dwn. s. Stf. Shr. Brks. Dev. Cor., *əspōkt* Som.

BJG., see § 104. Gill *inf.* spëk (o.), *pt.* späk (o.), *ppl.* spökn (22), spök (3), *dial. Bor.* spŏkn.

§ 128. **Spit.** The forms, as they at present exist, show a mixture of two weak verbs. The inf. comes from OE. *spittan.* There was another verb in OE., *spǣtan*, which had the pt. *spǣtte*, which became *spette* or *spatte.* See Bülbring, pp. 113 -14). *Spet* occurs as pt. in LyE., Nashe, Shaks. After *spatte* had become *spat,* the forms of the two verbs resembled those of *sit, sat* (esp. as the forms of *set* were likely to be mixed up with *sit*) and by the influence of *sit,* the two verbs became one. *Spat* occurs in our period in the Bible versions. *Spit* from *spittan* is the commonest form of the pt., *spitted* occurs in one or two translations of the Bible. In the ppl., *spit* is the most frequent form; *spitted* and *spetted* also occur.

Inf. Palsgr. *spyt(te)* 728-9 (5); Cov. *spyt* Deut. xxv, 9 (4); Hall *spet* 216 b; Levins *spette : sette, whette* 86; Shaks. *spet* MV. i. iii, 132; AuV. *spit* Lev. xv, 8; Heyw. *spits* III, 229. **Pt.** Cx. *spytte* R. 111; Cov. *spat* Mk. viii, Jn. ix, 6, *spytted* Matt. xxvi, 67 (3); Ascham *spitte* 239; LyE. *spit* I, 279 [*E, rest* spet]; Nashe *spet* PP. C 3 [*v. r.* spit], *spit* LS. G 2; Shaks. *spet* Mch. I. iii, 113. 127, *spit* Meas. ii. i, 86, Cor. i. iii, 45; AuV. *spit* Matt. xxvii, 30 [*T., G.* spitted], Mk. vii, 33, *spat* Jn. ix, 6 [*T.* spate, *C.* spatte, *G.* spate, *R.* spit]; Heyw. *spit* VI, 5; mod. diall. *sput* m. Yks. Chs. **Ppl.** Cov. *spitted* Lk. xviii, 32, *spytte* Nu. xii, 14; LyE. *spit* II, 33; Nashe *spit* LS. F 4 b; Shaks. *spit* WT. iv. iii, 113; AuV. *spit* Nu. xii, 14; Mk. viii, 23 [*T.* spat *pt., C.* spytt *ppl., G.* spit *pt., R.* spitting], *spitted* Lk. xviii, 32 [*T.* spetted, *C.* spytted, *G.* spitted, *R.* spit]; Heyw. *spit* I, 271; mod. diall. *spitn* Lakel. Yks. I. Ma., *spatn, spɐtn* Sc. m. Yks., *spitted* w. Som., *spɐt* Lon.

Not in BJG. Gill (pp. 59-60) says: '*Tertia anomalia est penitus immobiliū*; *vt,* I kast .. I kut .. I spit .. *nam* .. I spat *spuebā, sunt dialecti.*

§ 129. **Stick.** The OE. infinitive form *stecan* is still seen in *steke, steek, steak* (Cx. and Harvey), also in Q. Elizabeth's *stike*. Elizabeth often repesented [ī] by *i*; see the E. E. T. S. ed. of her Boethius, pp. xvi-ii. The pt. forms *stak, stake* (Cx., Ellis, Ascham, Cov., Underdowne), are also from the original OE. verb. In ME. fusion took place with the weak verb *stick* (OE. *stician*); this supplies the usual present and infinitive form in the 16th century. A weak pt. and ppl. *sticked* (also from *stician*) are common during this period and they are still to be found in dialects. There remain the forms *stokene* (Or. Sap. *ppl.*), *stoke* (Joye *Apol. Tindale pt.*), *stouk* (Ellis *pt.*), *stooke* (Hoby *ppl.*), and *stucke* (first in Tindale). In *stokene* we have *o* introduced into these verbs on the analogy of Cl. IV, cf. *spoken*. Pt. *stoke* shows ppl. vowel, cf. *broke*. *Stooke* may have a close or an open *o* (see Diehl, p. 36), by Hoby's time however it most probably denoted a close *o*. *Stouk* certainly has a close *o, o* on its way to *u*. *Stuck* may then be regarded as an early narrowing of close *ō* to *ū*, and early shortening of long *ū* to short *ŭ*. *Stuck* would then be explained in exactly the same way as *flood, blood*. *Blud* occurs in 16th century, see NED., *fludde* in Berner's *Froissart* (I, 92. 114). Brugger had already proposed this development for *struck* (p. 339). Another suggestion is that of Sweet's (NEG. § 1376), that *stuck* may owe its *u* to the influence of *stung*. The independent development by *dig* of a ppl. *dug* (see NED.) proves that this influence of Cl. III is by no means impossible. *Sting* had weak forms just like *stick*, which strengthens the argument for analogy. On the other hand as *stuck* can be explained from *stoke* on good phonetic principles, there seems no need for the argument from analogy, the development could have taken place of itself. It is remarkable how many verbs in modern dialects have *ŭ* from a former *o*, it is to be found in the pt. of *bake, break, drive, freeze, heave, hide, hit, leap, rive*, and in the ppl. of *drive forsake, heave, rive, stand, stride, strike, strive, take, thrive*.

Inf. Cx. *styke* R. 15, *stycke, -eth* M. m vj, a iij, *stekyng* R. 94; Sk. *stycke* : *prycke* 295; Plumpton Corr. *stike* (Camden) 246; Ellis B *stike* i. II, 146 (Q. Eliz.); Harvey *steak* (1), *steek* (5), *stekith* (1); otherwise only *stick(e), styck(e)*. **Pt.** Cx. *stake* R. 95, *stack(e)* R. 16 (7), *stak* M. o iij (2), *stycked* FSA. 48;

Monk of Evesham *stykyd* (Arb.) 83, *stekyd* 51; Ellis A *stake* ii. I, 252 (Ambass.); Ellis B *stouk* iii. III, 95 (Southwell), *stycked* iii. III, 303 (bishop); Tindale *stucke* Acts xxvii, 41 (so C., G.); Joye *stoke* Apol. Tindale 18 (from NED., s. v. *Bite* vb. 13); Cov. *stacke* 1 Sam. xvii. xxvi, 7, *styckte* 1 Chr. xi; Roister D. *stucke* : *goodlucke* (Arb.) 68; Ascham *stacke* 94; PPP. *stucke* I, 90. 147; LyE. *sticked* II, 14; Und. *stucke* 246, 281, *stacke* 282; *stuck(e)* only form in Nashe, Shaks. (2), AuV. (2), Heyw. (3), BJ. (3), Chapman, Sm. (4), Cocks (1); mod. diall. *stak* Sc. n. Cy. Yks., *sticked* Sc. Cum. s. Lan. Dev. Cor. **Ppl.** Or. Sap. *stokene* 333; Fisher *stycked* 29, 56; Palsgr. *sticked* 735, *-yd* 736; Hoby *stooke* 179; Lei. Corr. *stycked* 398 (Burghley), *stuck* 387; Harvey *steekid* (1); Shaks. (2), AuV. (1), Heyw. (4), BJ. (4), Chapman have only *stuck(e)*; mod. diall. *stikn* m. Yks., *stukn*, *stɒkn* Sc. Yks. s. Chs. Shr., *stickit*, *stickt* Sc. s. Lan., *stucked*, *stuckt* Hrt. Dev., *stuk* w. Yks., *stak* Lnk.

BJG., see § 51. Gill (p. 143) *inf.* stik.

§ 130. **Tread.** Short and long forms exist side by side in inf., pt. and ppl. Wyatt rimes *trede* with *lede* inf., and BJ. with *lead* inf. in his *Masque of Oberon*, Heyw. has the same rime (IV, 275). Cheke gives the inf. a long vowel (p. 39), and so do Smith (Ellis p. 907), and Bullokar (Plessow p. 30). It is not in Gill. On the other hand Barclay already has three short rimes. In the pt., Cx. has *trad, trade* which I have not found again in literature, though Daines gives *trade* together with *trode* (p. 55), and [ă], [ē] are common in dialects. That [ō] existed in the pt. and ppl. down to the end of the period may be inferred from the spellings *troad* in Heyw. and *troaden* in LyP. and Und., as well as from the rimes *trode* ppl. : *abode* (Tott. B. p. 193), *troad* pt. : *abroad* (Sylvester *Du Bartas* II, 184). Cheke gives [ō] in the ppl. (p. 34), and Daines spells the pt. *trode* (p. 55). [*Trōd*] is still used in dialects as a pt. The pt. is given short by Bullokar (Plessow p. 163) and pt. and ppl. by Butler (p. 48), and the pt. rimes short in Gasc. Brugger (p. 339 *note*) says "*sod* und *trod* verdanken ihren kurzen vokal dem particip, ebenso wie umgekehrt *spoke* und *broke* ihren langen vokal". But he forgets that originally the *o* in the ppl. of *tread* was the same long *o* as in the ppl. of *speak*; it was probably shortened before a final

dental in the pt. and then extended to the ppl. Cf. § 201. BJG. conjugates *tread* like *eat* and *beat*, that is to say *tread* [*trīd*], *tred*, *tred*. The only support I have found for this is in Barc.'s ppl. *tred*, and the ppl. *tredn* in modern dialects.

Inf. Barc. *tred(de)* : *redde* I, 133, *led* ppl. II, 76, *red* 117; Wyatt *tred* XIX, 182, *trede* : *lede* inf. 209; Palsgr. *treade* 761; Gasc. *tred(de)*, *treade* (2), *treads* (1); Eliz. Eng. *treds* 47; Heyw. *tread* : *lead* IV, 275; *tread(e)* usual form in other writers. **Pt.** Cx. *trad* R. 15, B. 89, *tradd* B. 49, *trade* R. 105, M. Z iiij, Z vij; Cov. *trode* Lk. xxii, 1, 2 Chr. xxv, 1 (&c.); Gasc. *trode* I, 54, II, 247, *trodde* : *odde* I, 185; PPP. *trode* III, 334; LyP. *trode* III, 189; Sp. *trode* ii, xi, 19; Ellis D *trode* iii, IV, 177 (educ. Irishman); Shaks. *trod* Tp. ii, ii, 73, v, 242 (6); AuV. *trode* Lk. xii, 1 (*T.*, *C.* trood, *G.*, *R.* trode) (7); Heyw. *trod* (1), *trode* (1), *troad* (1); mod. diall. *trud*, *trēd* Sc. Yks., *trōd* w. Yks. e. Lan. n. Lin., *treaded* Sc. Yks. Midl. Brks. **Ppl.** Cx. *troden* B. 86; Fisher *troden* 392; Barc. *tred* II, 78, 103, 213; Palsgr. *troden* (4); Surrey *trod* 321 (v. r. *trode*); Cov. *trodden* (3), *troden* (5), *entroden* (1); Ascham *trodden* (1), *troden* (4); Gasc. *trodden* (2), *troden* (1), *trode* (2), *ouertrodde* (1); LyE. *trodden* (1), *troden* (2); LyP. *troden* (4), *troaden* (1), *trodden* (1), *trood* : *wood* III, 370; Und. *troden*, *troaden* 247; Sp. *troden* iii, xi, 52, *trodden* vi, viii, 24, adj. SC. June 27, *trodd(e)* i, viii, 17, SC. Feb. 234; Nashe *troden* CT. B 2 b, *crowe troden* adj. UT. E 1, *vndertrodden* C 1 b, *trodde* SLW. I 2; Shaks. *trod* (act. and pass.) 3H6 iv, iii, 7 (8), *trodden* (pass. and with sbs.) Ven. 707 (6), *troden* 3H6 ii, ii, 17, *entrod* JC. iii, i, 136, *entrodden* R. 2, i, ii, 69, *down-trod* 1H4 i, iii, 135 (so Qq.; Ff. *downfall* or *down-falu*); AuV. *troden* Lk. viii, 5 (27; *T.* troaden, troden, trooden, trodden 1 each, *C.* troaden 1, troden 3, *G.* troden 4, *R.* troden 5); Heyw. *trodden* (1), *trod* (2), *troad* (2); mod. diall. *tredn*, *tridn* Sc. Yks., *trod* Shr. w. Som., *treaded* Brks.

BJG., see § 116. Not in Gill.

§ 131. **Was.** *Wos* in Cx. and CeP. affords a very early piece of evidence for the influence of *w* on a following *a*. See Brotanek in Daines (p. xix). Cf. also *wash*, § 154. *Whor* in CeP., see § 112; *wors* in CeP. confusion of *wor* and *was*. *Was* very often rimes with a voiceless *s*, and is so given by Smith and Hart (Ellis, p. 908). Gill however gives *z*. The

instances where Shaks. has *were* as sg. can mostly be explained as misprints; the preceding substantive has lost its *s* through a printer's error. In Tit. v. iii, 99, *they it were that ravished our sister*, it obviously is pl. because of *they*. In Cymb. v. v, 451 *were* is probably sbj. The 2nd pers. sg. in OE. was *wǣre*, this lives on into our period as *were* in Cx. and A XXVI, 227. It also occurs in Bullokar in a question and as a subjunctive (Plessow pp. 11, 53). Cx. once has *was*. In ME. *thou wast* and *thou wert* were formed on the analogy of other 2nd pers. sg. that ended in *t*. AuV. distinguishes between them and makes *thou wast* only ind., *thou wert* only sbj. Cf. also § 187. *Was* in the plural is to be found in Ellis, it occurs once in Shaks. (R. 3, iii. ii, 86), where the Ff. have *were* however.

Singular *1st and 3rd Person* usually *was*, so Lkbsch., Sk. (: *pas* I, 59. 78; 11 times in rime with voiceless *s*), Hall, BernH., Ascham, Hoby, Gasc. (: *passe* I, 44. 55), LyP., Sp., Und., AuV., Heyw. (: *passe, glasse*), BJ., Sm. (: *glasse*), Cocks. Cx. *was* (usual), *wos* M. lj; CeP. *was, wos, whos(se), wosse, wors, wus*; Ellis B *was* (usu.), *wase* (2), *wasse* (1); Eliz. and Jas. *war*; Shaks. *was* (usu.), *were* Meas. i. iv, 54, 1 H 6 i. iv, 50, vi, 7, Cymb. v. v, 451 [Tit. v. iii, 99 they, it were, that . . .]. *2nd pers. sg.* Cx. *was* M. r v (2), *were* M. ee v (6); Fisher *wast* 357; A XXVI *were* 227; BernH. *wert* 45; Hoby *waste* 183; Gasc. *weart* I, 93. 114; LyE. *wast* II, 88. 218, *werte* II, 150, sbj. *wert* I, 209. 244 [E, rest *wast*] II, 76; LyP. *wast* III, 53. 379, *wert* II, 352, sbj. III, 178. 357; Shaks. *wert* usual (R. 3, i. iv, 213, ii. iv, 33, iv. ii, 17, iv. iv, 88, Ff. *wast*); AuV. *wast* (60), sbj. *wert* (6); Heyw. *wast* (15), *wert* (5), sbj. (10); BJ. *wert* (6). **Plural.** Cx. *weren* R. 67, *were* GB. 22 (usu.). *Were* is the usual form, *wer* is a frequent spelling. Other variants are CeP. *wher(e), war, wer, wheyr*; Ellis A *was* ii. I, 98, *var, wer, werre, ware*; Fisher *ware, were* (1); Ellis B *ware* (3), *war* (1), *wayr* (1), *wern* (1); Ellis C *weare* (2); Gasc. *weere* [also *wer(e)*]; Lei. Corr. *war(r)* (2), *werr* (1), *weare* (1); LyE. *where* I, 298; Shaks. *was* R. 3 iii. ii, 86 (Ff. *were*); Ellis D *was ye* i. III, 78; Cocks *weare* (v. o.). **Subjunctive.** *Were* is the usual form from Cx. onwards. CeP. *wher(e), whar, wheyr, war(re)*; Bk. St. Albans *war* cj; Ellis A *war* (1), *ware* (2); Ellis B *wer* (2), *war, ware, weer, weare* (once each); Gasc. *weare*; Cocks

weare (3), *were* (3), *ware* (1). *2nd pers. sg.* see the Indicative.

BJG. (c. 18) *was, wast, was*; or *were, wert, were.* Pl. *were, were, were.* Gill (p. 67) I waz [so often], ðou wast [3 times], hï waz, wï, yï, ðei wër.

§ 132. **Weave.** This verb begins to show weak forms already in ME. In the 16th century they were fairly frequent.

Inf. Palsgr. *weyve, wayve* 779. Otherwise *weaue.* **Pt.** Sp. *wefte* : *defte, lefte* ii. vi, 18, *weaued* : *conceyued, bereaued, deceaued* v. iv, 10; Shaks. *weaude* Per. iv. Prol. 21; AuV. *woue* 2 Kgs. xxiii, 7; GF. *woue* 148; mod. diall. *wēv* m. and w. Yks., *woved* w. Som., *weaved* n. and e. Yks. w. Som., *weft* e. An. **Ppl.** Cx. *wouen* D. 32, E. 63, *weued* E. 54; Hall *woven* 7; Ascham *wouen* 213; Gasc. *wouen* I, 401; LyE. *wouen* II, 8. 70; LyP. *wouen* III, 115; Sp. *enwouen* iv. x, 31, *wouen* i. xii, 22 (4), *wefte* : *refte, lefte* iii. iv, 36; Shaks. *wouen* Ven. 266 (4), *weau'd* R. 2 iv, 229, 1H4, v. iv, 88; AuV. *wouen* Ex. xxxix, 22. 27 (4); Sm. *wouen* (5); mod. diall. *wavn* m. Yks., *weaved* Sc. w. Som., *ewōvd* w. Som.

BJG. see § 104. Not in Gill. Butler gives *weaue, woue, wouen,* and also *weau'd* for pt. and ppl. (p. 48).

§ 133. **Wreak.** Weak forms existed already in ME. I have found strong forms only in poetry for the 16th century, but Nares gives ppl. *wroken* from Holinshed II. P 8 b. He also gives ppl. *wrooke* from *Ferrex and Porrex.* Spenser's *ywrake* is invented for the rime.

Ppl. Cx. *wroken* M. e v, *awroke* M. a vij; Sk. *wroken* : *token, spoken* I, 111, *spoken* 276: *forgotten* 334; Gasc. *wreackt* I, 112; Sp. *wroken* v. viii, 44, ix, 24 (o.), *wroke* ii. v, 21, vi, 30 (4), *ywroken* vi. vi, 18, Col. Clout 919; *ywroke* iv. vi, 23, xi, 5, *ywrake* iv. viii, 14 (in rime), *unwreaked* III, xi, 9; Shaks. *wreak't* Ven. 1000; Chapman *wreakt* B. d'A. 136.

Class VI.

§ 134. This class had in OE. the following ablaut-series:

a (*ēa*, *e*) *ō* *ō* *a* (*e*).

In the inf. a few variations arise in early ME. *Slēan* developes a pres. *slein* from the ppl., this is found as early as *Juliana*. (cf. Bülbring p. 96). *Scieppan* developes an inf. *shape* either from ppl. *sceapen* or the weak verb *sceapian* (Bülbring p. 96). Cf. also ON. *skapa*. A large number of verbs either become altogether weak or develope weak forms by the side of the strong ones. On the other hand *quake* takes a strong pt. *quoke* on the analogy of these verbs, though the ppl. always remains weak. *Draw, gnaw, heave, slay, wash, wax* form other pts. on the analogy of Reduplicated Verbs, but see also Sarrazin *E. St.* VIII, 65. In a few cases the ppl. takes over the pt. form. Bülbring gives *uorzoke* from Ayenb., *onderstode* from Lay. B. among others which have not survived to our period. See p. 97. Dibelius cites *toke, woxe(n)* from Wyclif (§ 267).

§ 135. The most important process in our period is the completion of the development of [ō] into [ū]. That this had begun some time before is proved by Trevisa's spellings *touk, vorsouk*. See Bülbring p. 97, Sarrazin, *E. St.* VIII, 64. Bradley-Stratmann give *tuk* from *Sir Isumbras* l. 189 (a 1400). Daines gives *stood* short (p. 12), Hart *took* once long and once short. *Houe, swore* and *(a)woke* have developed differently in modern English. *Houe* was a rare form and the [ō] may be due to the analogy of Class V (*weaue, woue, wouen, giue* occasionally *goue, gouen*). Bülbring attributes the [ō] in *swore* and *(a)woke* to the influence of the *w* (p. 97). Sp. once rimes *awooke* with

tooke, strooke (pt.) and *looke* (vi. vii, 48), and *uplooke* (vi. iii, 11). I have found nothing to confirm this rime. The pt. of *quake* he rimes only with *oo*. With regard to the other changes, the infinitives *flay, slay* (from the ppl.) become very frequent, although *flea, slee* (from *flēan, slēan*) do not altogether disappear. *Flay* also has an inf. *flawe* from the ppl. *flawen* (OE. *flagen*), while *flay* is from *flain* (OE. *flegen*). In the pt. of *draw* and *slay* the forms developed on the analogy of the reduplicated verbs (*drew* and *slew*) become the standard ones; in *gnaw, heave, wash, wax* they are occasionally found, but the weak forms are preferred. In *forsake, shake, stand, swear, take, awake* the pt. form is sometimes found in the ppl. Only in *stand* did it ultimately prevail. With the exception of *stood* these forms are not recognised by the grammarians. Every verb of this class has weak forms now and then, *bake, flay, gnaw, laugh* become quite weak, *heave* usually so, *grave, lade, shape, shave, wash, wax* have a weak pt. and an occasional strong ppl. at the end of the period. *Shapen* and *shauen* are more often used as adjectives than the weak ppls. *shaped* and *shaued*. In *flawed* and *stooded* we have a mixture of strong and weak forms. There are a number of ppls. without the inf. vowel and without *-en*, see *bake, fare, forsake, shape, take*, see also § 191.

These verbs are here subdivided into the following classes, those verbs (1) with *oo* in pt. (2) with *o* in pt. (3) that have gone over to the redup. verbs (4) that have mostly become weak, though still showing a few strong forms.

§ 136. BJG. (c. 18) says: "An *a* is turned into *oo*. Pres. *shake*, . . . Past *shook* . . . Part. pa. *shaken*. This form do the verbs *take, wake, forsake,* and *hang* follow; but *hang* in the time past maketh *hung,* not *hangen*."

1. Verbs with *oo* in the pt.

§ 137. **Forsake.** The weak pt. which occurs in Ellis is given by NED. for the 17th century also, and it is in the modern dialect of w. Som. *Forsoc* had occurred as a ppl. in the 13th century, *forsook(e)* occurs in Ayenbite and is given by NED. for 16th-19th centuries. It occurs in 15th century literature, see Dibelius § 269. It is in modern dialects, see

the lists. *Forsake* in the ppl. (BernH., Marlowe) is given by NED. for 14th-16th centuries. This form has not come down in the dialects. NED. also gives a ppl. *forsoken* for the 17th century, but without quotation.

Inf. Barc. *forsoke* imperative I, 233 (probably misprint, *forsake* occurs a few lines above). **Pt.** Cx. *forsoke* B. 98, so Fisher, BernH., Cov., Hall, Ascham. Hoby *forsoke* 18, *forsooke* 243; Machyn *forsoke* 153, *forsok* 36; Ellis C *forsakid* ii. III, 19 (Sir T. Smith); *forsooke* Tott. B., Gasc., LyE., Sp., Und., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm.; mod. diall. *forsookt* w. Som., *forsaked* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *forsaken* B. 60, so Barc., Fisher, Cov., Hall, Ascham, Gasc., Lei. Corr., LyE., LyP., AuV., BJ., Sm., Voy. C.; BernH. *forsaken* 97, 136 (4), *forsake* 399; Kyd *forsaken* (3), *forsook* Ard. 1305; Marl. *forsaken*, *forsake*; Sp. *forsaken* i. xii, 26, *forsooke* S. lxvii (in rime); Nashe *forsaken* (3), *forsooke* UT. D 2; Shaks. *forsaken* Lr. i. i, 254 (5), *forsooke* Oth. iv. ii, 125 (8); Heyw. *forsaken* I, 168 (6), *forsooke* V, 72 (3); mod. diall. *fəseən* w. Yks., *fəsukn* m. Yks. s. Chs. Shr. e. An., *fəsuk* Shr. Brks., *forsaked* m. Yks. Brks. w. Som., *forsookt* w. Som.

BJG., see § 135. Gill *inf.* forsäk (pp. 109, 143), *pt.* forsük (p. 78).

§ 138. **Quake.** This is in OE. a weak verb *cwacian*, a strong pt. first appears in the 14th century. See NED. There never was a strong ppl.

Pt. Cx. *quoke* R. 47, 56; Sk. *quoke* : *loke*, *toke* I, 37, see also *shaked*; Gasc. *quooke* : *toke* II, 240; Sp. *qwooke* : *looke*, *strooke* pt. iii. x, 24, *shooke* vi. vii, 24 (twice more in rime), *quaked*, *quakt* i. viii, 5 (5); *quaked*, *quakt* occurs in Fisher 404, Cov. Jdg. V, Hall 199 b; Und. 130, 280; Shaks. M. W. iii. v, 104; AuV. Ex. xix, 18, 1 Sam. xiv, 15; Heyw. III, 336, V, 69. **Ppl.** Cx. *quaked* M. l vj; Shaks. *quak'd* Cor. i. ix, 6.

Not in BJG. or Gill.

§ 139. **Shake.** Weak forms of this verb occur already in ME., and are very frequent in our period and in the dialects. The spelling *shouke* denotes an *o* on the way to *u*, Tindale's spelling *shuke* (Sopp p. 28) seems to show that *o* was already *u*. Cf. Rudolf p. 20, Diehl pp. 35-6. *Shook* occurs in ppl. (Royster D., Heyw., Chapman) and is frequent as such

in the dialects. The ppl. *shooken* [R. Chester *Love's Martyr* (Shaks. Soc.) pp. 95-6] is also in the dialects. Chester also rimes *shoken* : *broken* (p. 133).

Pt. Cx. *shoke* GB. 270, E. 103 (4), *shok* B. 56, *shaked* FSA. 497; Sk. *thou shoke* I, 10, *shaked* : *quaked* I, 110 : *naked, quaked* 347; Palsgr. *shaked* 700 (4); BernH. *shoke* 111, *shakyd* 559; Cov. *shaked* Ruth ii, *shoke* Acts xxviii, 5 (8); Tott. *shoke* : *loke* 35; Hall *shoke* 192, 199 b; Lei. Corr. *shooke* 47; Marl. *shook*; Sp. *shaked, shakt* i. iv, 5, xi, 9 (4), *shooke* ii. vi, 40, iii. i, 17 (3), *shoke* i. xi, 15 (3); Shaks. *shak'd* Tp. ii. i, 319, 1H4 iii. i, 17, *shooke* Oth. ii. i, 6, R. 3, i. ii, 159 (c 19); AuV. *shaked* Ps. cix, 25, *shooke* Acts xiii, 51 (*T., C., G.* shouke, so Acts xxviii, 5), Acts xviii, 6 (*T., C., G.* shoke) (*shooke* 12 times in AuV.); Heyw. *shooke* I, 28, III, 384 (4); BJ. *shooke* SN. ii. v; Chapman *shooke* MD. 215; Cocks *shook(e)* II, 93. 235 (4), *shaked* II, 244; mod. diall. *ſek, ſōk, ſūk* Dmf. Irel. Cum. Yks. Nhp. War. Shr. Hrf. Oxf. Suf. Ess. Sus. w. Som., *shooked* Shr. s. Pem., *shaked* Sc. n. Ir. n. Cy. w. Yks. s. Lan. Lin. Shr. w. Som. Dev. **Ppl.** Sk. *shaked* : *naked* I, 187, *wynde schakyn* adj. I, 117; Palsgr. *shaked* 700; Royster D. *shoke* (Arb.) 33; Sp. *shaken* SI. 610 (3), *off-shakt* ii. xi, 33; Shaks. *shak'd* Tr. i. iii, 101 (3), *loue-shak'd* As. iii. ii, 385, *unshak'd* Caes. iii. i, 70, Cymb. ii. i, 68, *wind-shak'd* Oth. ii. i, 13, *shaken* Sonn. cxvi, cxx (5), *vnshaken* Ham. iii. ii, 201, H8 iii. ii, 199; *shooke* A. & C. v. i, 16, Ham. iv. vii, 32; Heyw. *shooke* I, 262 (3), *shaken* II, 352 (5), *unshaken* IV, 172, *shak't* VI, 71; BJ. *feauer-shaken* P. To Rdr.; Chapman *shooke* B. d'A. 24, 93; *shaken* alone in Fisher, Cov., LyE., LyP., AuV. (and all versions), Sm., Cocks; mod. diall. *ſukn, ſvkn* Slk. s. Sc. s. Chs. Lei., *shuk* Ayr. Bwk. Gall. n. Ir. w. Yks. Not. Lei. Nhp. War. s. Pem. Shr. sw. Cy., *shaked* Lakel. Yks. n. Der. Shr. w. Som., *shookt* Shr. w. Som.

BJG., see § 135. Not in Gill.

§ 140. **Stand, under-, with-.** OE. inf. *standan* > ME. *stōnden*. See Bülbring p. 99. From this perhaps *ū* was developed in some dialects (see Morsbach §§ 88, 125 a. 4; cf. § 58 above). Traces of this seem to appear in our period in Bradshaw's *St. Werburge* (E. E. T. S., No. 87, 1888). There *vnderstande* rimes with *founde* on p. 55, and *vnderstonde* with *londe, bonde* (= *bound* ppl.), *sonde* (= *sound*) on p. 192. This would also account

for Elizabeth's spelling *undrestounde* (Ellis ii. II, 212). For Spenser's rimes, cf. § 58. The form *stond* was gradually displaced in southern ME. during the 15th century by *stand*. Morsbach (§ 92) supposes Midland influence to have been the cause of this, as *standen* was frequent in Midland. The form is due to early shortening (*ibid.* § 90). For a comparative table of the frequency of the forms in *-and* and *-ond* in the 15th century, see Lekebusch p. 53. *Stond* is still frequent at the beginning of our period, it is the only form I have noticed in Cov., but after his time its use rapidly decreases. It is not given by any 16th century phonetician, except Cheke (pp. 36, 57). In the pt. and ppl. the form *stoud* in Lkbsch. indicates that [ǭ] was near [ū], Harvey's *stud* that [ǭ] was already [ū]. Hart once gives [ō] for *understood*, twice [ū]. Jespersen explains the [ō] as "a reminiscence of traditional spelling" (p. 100). Bullokar (Hauck, p. 15) and Gill (p. 60) give only [ū]. The pt. *stand, stonde* (Cx., Machyn, Heyw.) arose probably because the stem of the verb ended in a dental, and the conjugation *stand, stand, stand* was like *send, send, send* (then frequent). *Stant* is still used in Cumberland; it arose probably like *sent*. *Stoded* in Lkbsch. is a mixture of weak and strong, for which I have found no other example in this verb, though it is the ppl. in the dialect of Dev. The ppl. shows the utmost variety of form. OE. *stǫnden* is seen in *stonden, standen* (also *vnder-*) in Cx., Lkbsch., Plumpton Corr., Ellis A, Pica. This [ǫ] could undergo lengthening just as in inf. (cf. Bülbring p. 99), and such lengthening may account for the rime *vnderstonde, londe, fonde* (ppl. of *find*) in A XXVI, 257. But see § 58. The form *stand* without *-en* comes down pretty late, the latest I have found is from PPP. I, 286. The form *stood* was introduced from pt. in the 15th century. It is frequent in Lkbsch., rare in Cx.; after 1550 it becomes the standard form. *Understouden* is found once in Lkbsch. The weak form *understanded* Dibelius found in a document of the late 15th century (§ 270). *Understanded* and *withstanded* are not uncommon, but I have found no example of *standed*, which occurs however as pt. in modern dialects.

Inf. Cx. *stonde* GB. 113, *vnder-* C. Pref., *stande* R. 100 (see Römst. p. 10); Sk. *vnderstand : hand, thousand* I, 145, *vnder-*

stande : *Englande* II, 68. 71; *withstande* : *lande* I, 274 : *hande* I, 287, *vnderstonde* : *bronde*, *fonde* adj. I, 249; Ellis A *stand, vnder-* (18), *stonde, vnder-* (17), *staunde* iii. II, 148 (Ld. Dorset); Fisher *stande, vnder-* 18, 315, *stonde, vnder-* 277, 289; Ellis B *stand, under-* (24), *stond, under-* (12), *undrestounde* ii. II, 212 (Q. Eliz.), *staunde* iii. III, 231 (Arundell), *anderstonde* iii. III, 292 (agent); Barc. *stande* I, 278, *stonde* : *bonde* II, 308, *vnterstonde* I, 7; Bradshaw see § 58; Palsgr. *stande* 732-3 (41), *understande* 767 (6), *withstande* 783 (5), *stonde* 736 (2); BernH. *stonde, -yng* 106, 170; Tott. *withstand* : *hand* 143, 180, *standes* : *handes* 200; Cov. only *o* forms noticed; Ascham *stand, under-, with-* (usu.), *stondes* 114; Levins *stande* : *lande, demande, errande* 23; Ellis C *stand, under-* (6), *understonding* i. II, 265 (Sir N. Bacon); Sp. *stand* (usu.), *standen* i. iv, 24, *stond* : *strond, hond, fond* pt. ii. vi, 19, *hond, brond* ii. viii, 37; *stand(e)*, *under- with-* only form in Hall, Hoby, Gasc., LyP., Und., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV., Heyw., Sm., BJ., Voy. C., Cocks. **Pt.** Cx. *stode, vnder-* B. 22, R. 6 (usu.), *stood(e)*, *vnder-* C. b j, R. 73, M. a iij, aa viij, *stoden* R. 66, 79, *vnderstod* E. 3, *stonde* pl. GB. 303, *stondyn* pl. M. b vj [*W. de Worde* stode]; Lkbsch. *stode, vnder-* (4), *stoded* (1); Sk. *stoode* : *woode, moode* I, 42, *stode* : *good* I, 46, *understood* I, 189; Ellis A *stud, ondir-* i. I, 28. 29. 31 (Sc.), *stode, under-* i. I, 48 (St. P.). 67 (agent). 216 (Surrey), *stood* 183 (bishop), *stowde* iii. II, 130 (German); Fisher *stode, vnder-* 29, 231 (always); Ellis B *stode* i. II, 79 (agent) (4), *stood(e)* 115 (Elyot) (2); *stod* iii. III, 283 (Sir W. Eure), *stoude* 203 (Latimer); BernH. *stode, vnder-* (usu.), *vnderstod* 23, 553; Surrey *stode* : *fode* 336; Tott. *stode, with-* : *bloode* 15, 149, *stoode* : *foode* 242; Cov. *stode, under-, with-* Mk. iii, Acts xxvii (always); Hall *stood(e)* 1, 1 b, 66, *stod(e)* 22, 36 (usu.); Ascham *stode, with-* 27, 41 (4), *stoode, vnder-* 114, 274 (4); Machyn *stod* 27, 111 (9), *stood* 38, 229, *stode* 75, 204, *stand* 42; Ellis C *stood, under-* i. II, 287. 293 (Fleetwood) (3), *stode* ii. II, 331 (Sir R. Sadler); Gasc. *stood, vnder-* I, 53 (usu.), *stode* I, 481; Lei. Corr. *stood(e)*, *under-* 69 (usu.), *stod* 479 (soldier); Harvey *stud* 2, 6, 152; Sp. *stood(e)* (usu.), *stoud* : *bloud, remoud* iii. ix, 43; Und. *stoode, under-, with-* 11, 18 (usu.), *stode, with-* 117, 234; Heyw. *stood* : *good* III, 372 (usu.), *thou stodst* III, 194, *stand* IV, 268; *stood(e)*, *vnder-, with-* only form in Hoby, LyE., LyP., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV., BJ.,

Sm., Cocks; mod. diall. *sted, stīd* ne. Sc. Irel. Lakel. Yks. ne. Lan., *stant* Cum., *standed* w. Yks. **Ppl.** Cx. *vnderstonde* C. b iiij, d ij, *vnderstande* GB. 62, 118 (8), *withstand* M. c v, *standen* R. 71, *vnderstanden* GB. 176, E. 3, M. i ij, *-stonden* C g v, *vnderstood* C b j; Lkbsch. "meistens *ou*", *stoud, under-*; also *understand(e)* (3), *-en* (1), *understonden* (1), *-ed* (1), *understouden* (1); Plumpton Corr. *understanden* 81, *withstanded* 45; Ellis A *withstand* i. I, 51, *stond* ii. I, 318 (bishop), *undrestand* iii. II, 46. 54 (Warham), *stonden* ii. I, 242 (ambass.), *onderstandyte* ii. I, 276 (Q. Marg.), *vndrestonded, withstonded* iii. II, 74 (ambass.); Fisher *vnderstande* 17, 18, 123, *vnderstanded* 330, *withstande* 193; Or. Sap. *vnderstande* 338, 366, *vndirstonde* 357, 367; A XXVI *stond* 194, *vnderstonde : londe, fonde* ppl. 257; Sk. *withstand* 9; Barc. *vnderstode* I, 81, *withstode* II, 102; Pica *vnderstonden* 29. 56; Myrr. ovre Ladye *vnderstonde* 27, *-ed* 114. 254. 255; Ellis B *stand* ii. II, 315 (Gresham, 1569), *understand* i. II, 227 (Mary, Q. Scots, 1566), *vnderstanded* i. II, 148 (Edw. VI), *understood* iii. III, 311 (St. P. 1553); BernH. *vnderstonde* 8. 101 (4), *vnderstande* 752; Wyatt *stonde* XIX, 196 [*v. r.* stand]; Cov. *stonde, vnder-*, Ruth ii. (always); Hall *stande* 226, *withstanded* 89; Ascham *stande* 111, Ellis C *understand* ii. III, 1 (Q. Eliz. 1571); Gasc. *stoode, under-* I, 206. 317. 447, *understode* II, 135; PPP. *vnderstande* I, 286, *-ed* III, 273; Fenton *withstanded* II, 63; Harvey *stud* 161; *stood, vnder-, with-*, only form in Hoby, Lei., Cor., LyP., Sp., Und., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV. Heyw., BJ., Sm.; mod. diall. *studn, stʊdn* Sc. n. Cy. w. Yks. s. Chs. n. Lin., Shr., *stidn* Yks., *stied* n. Yks., *stooded* Dev.

BJG. (c. 20) Pr. *stand.* Pa., *stood.* Gill (p. 60), '*Aliquando perfectum idem est eum imperfecto : vt*, I stand, I stüd, I häv stüd. Withstánd is given with the accent on the last syllable on p. 133.

§ 141. **Take.** Spellings like *touk* denoting the transition from [ō] to [ū] in pt. occur in the late 15th century (Bülbring p. 97). Bradley-Stratmann gives *tuk* from *Sir Isumbras* l. 189 (a 1400). The weak pt. *taked* (CeP.) is common in the dialects. In the ppl. we have *taken, tane, ytake, take, took, mistoken. Taken* is of course the most frequent form. *Tane*, contracted from *taken* (cf. *made*), in used only in poetry before Shaks., but he, BJ. and Heyw. use it sometimes in the prose of their

dramas, though more often in poetry for the sake of the metre. Gascoigne says it is 'poetical license'. (*Certayne Notes* in *Posies* (Cambridge ed.) p. 470). It is in the dialect of w. Yks. *Ytake* is used in Lkbsch. and Sp. *Take* is fairly frequent at the beginning of the period; but I have not found it after Tott. *Took* is common throughout the period and is still in dialects. Nashe's *mistoken* stands alone though *tokn, tukn* are still in dialect. Of all these forms only the pt. *took* and ppl. *taken* are recognised by BJG. and Gill.

Ppl. Cx. *tooke* C. bj, *toke* R. 25 (usu.), *token* pl. R. 31; Lkbsch. *toke* (o.), CeP. *taked* (1), *toke* (usu.), *tuk* (1); Sk. *toke* I, 3; Ellis A *toke* (v. o.), *took* ii. I, 216 (Adm. Sir E. Howard), *tuke* i. I, 63 (Jas. VI); Barc. *toke* I, 81 (3); Fisher *toke* 231 (v. o.), *tooke* 361; Ellis B *toke* (3), *tooke* (2), *tok* iii. III, 137, *toake* 165, *towke* 225; BernH. *toke* 10. 13 (usu.), *tooke* 58; Wyatt *toke* XVIII, 280; Hall *toke, took(e)* both common, *toke* more frequent; Ascham *toke* (4), *tooke* (4); Ellis C *took(e)* (4), *toke* (3), *touke* iii. IV. 96 (Mrs. Cooke); Gasc. *took(e)* I, 87. 88 (usu.), *toke* 68. 78. 85; LyP. *tooke* II, 323 (usu.), *toke* III, 176; Und. *tooke* 13 (usu.), *tooke* 93; Cocks *took(e)* 7 (usu.), *toke* II, 138; *took(e)* is the only form in Hoby, Harvey, Mann., Sp., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV., BJ., Heyw., Sm., Voy. C.; mod. diall. *tiək* ne. and m. Yks., *tookt* Cum. sw. Cy., *tade, taked* Yks. s. Chs. ne. Der. Shr. **Ppl.** Cx. *taken* C. b ij, B. 86 (usu.), *takn* B. 68, *take* B. 143, E. 74 (6), *ouertake* M. F vj, P iij, *vndertake* FSA. 549; Lkbsch. *taken, -yn* (v. o.), *take* (8), *outake, out take, vndertake, ytake, tooke, vndertoke* (1 each); Or. Sap. *take* 326, *takene* 329. 343; Sk. *tane* : *bane* II, 76, *taken* I, 137; Ellis A *taken, -yn* (v. o.), *take* ii. I, 330. 340 (agent), iii. II, 163 (agent); Barc. *taken, -yn* I, 172 (3), *take* I, 28 (3), *tane* I, 82 (3), *tan* I, 303; Fisher *taken* 2. 13 (usu.), *take* 320. 347 [1556 *-en*], *would haue take* 301; BernH. *taken* 29 (usu.), *take* 218; Wyatt *tan* XIX, 183 [*v. r.* tane], *taken* 425; Tott. *tane* 46. 62. 93. 114, *ouertake* : *slake* 47; Tott. B. *undertooke* : *looke* 2032; Machyn *taken* 21 (usu.), *take* 21; Gasc. *taken* I, 5. 77 (usu.), *tane* I, 63. 84. 87 (common); LyP. *taken* II, 328 (usu.), *tane* III, 346, *ouertane* : *again* III, 379; Sp. *taken* iii. i, 56 (o.), *ta'ne, tane, under-*, iii. vii, 53 (5), *ytake* Sc. June 84 (in rime); Nashe *tooke* PP. G 4 (3), *vnder-* TN. B 1 (3), *ouer-*, CT. Z 3, *mistoken* AP. F 1 b; Shaks. *taken* Lr. i. iv, 353 (c. 80), *tane*

Shr. iv. ii, 46 (c. 90), *tooke* Ant. iv. vi, 2 (c. 20), *mistooke* Haml. v. ii, 395 (c. 13), *mistaken* All's ii. v, 43 (c. 9), *mistane* R. 3, v. iii, 35, *mistaine* Rom. v. ii, 203, *o're-tooke* Macb. iv, i, 145, *ouertane* R. 3 ii. iv, 7, *-ta'ne* Cor. i. ix, 19, *oretane* Mch. V. iv. ii, 5, *partaken* Alls iv. v, 11, *vndertooke* Mch. V. ii. iv, 7, Oth. v. ii, 311, *vnderta'ne* W. T. iii. ii, 79; Heyw. *taken* I, 32. (12), *took(e)* (29), *tane, ta'ne* I, 31 (16), *betooke* III, 45, *mistook* II, 419, *ouertaken* I, 49, *oretaken : shaken* VI, 143, *undertane* II, 353, *undertooke* V, 73; BJ. *taken* V. i. ii (10), *tane, ta'ne* (13), *mistaken* E. i. iii (3), *partaken* E. iv. iv, *vndertaken* SN. iii. ii; Sm. *taken, mis-, ouer-, vndēr-* 16. 24 (usu.), *tooke* 528. 656; *taken* is the only form in Ellis B, Hall, Hoby, Ellis C, Harvey, LyE., Dee, Und., Ellis D, AuV., Voy. C., Cocks; mod. diall. *tokn, tukn* Lnk. Cum. Yks. s. Chs. Stf. n. Lin. Shr. e. An. e. Dev. Cor., *teən* w. Yks., *tuk* Midl. e. and s. Cy., *tēnd* Sc., *tēd* Shr., *əteəkt* w. Som., *tukt* w. Som. Dev.

BJG., see § 135. Gill (p. 62) tu täk *capio*, I tük, I hav täkn; *pt.* undertük (p. 98).

2. Verbs with *o* in the pt.

§ 142. **Swear.** The OE. pt. was *swōr,* which normally would have become [*swūr*] in mod. E. Cf. *stood, took.* Bülbring explains the [*ō*] by the influence of the *w* (p. 97), see *(a)woke* below. Pt. *sware* (already in ME., see Bülbring p. 102) shows the influence of Cl. IV. *Swore* (cf. *bore, tore,* etc.) is not the standard form till after 1600. The ppl. *swore* occurs in e. ME., Bradley-Stratmann gives an instance from the 13th century Gregory legend. In our period it is mainly a poetical form. Nowadays it is common in dialects. *Soren* (Ellis iii. I, 378) shows the same dropping of *w* before *o* that we have abready had in *solne* (§ 93). Cooper (1685), Johnston give *sworn* without *w*; see Horn, p. 141.

Inf. Cx. *swere* E. 19, R. 37; Sk. *swere : spere* 256; Ellis A iii. I, 378 (Dk. Norfolk), II, 31, *swer* iii. II, 31. 32 (last 3 by Warham); Barc. *swere* I, 287; Ellis B ii. II, 142 (tradesman); Palsgr. *sweare* 745; Tott. *sweare : wear* 263; Hall *swere* 102 (3); Shaks. *swear* Lucr. 1418, Sonn. c. xxxi, *: ear* Lucr. 1418, *: fear, there* Lucr. 1650, *were* Pilgr. (from LLL. iv. iii, 117); Heyw. *sweare : eare* III, 19, *deneare* (= 1 *d.*) II, 144, *heare*

II, 150, *(for)beare* III, 66, V, 319, : *deare* III, 115, *heire* III, 357 (usu.), *sware* II, 12, *swere* : *there* II, 137; other writers have only *swear(e)*. **Pt.** Cx. *swar* GB. 83 (4), *sware* GB. 201 (9); *swore* R. 96 (8), *sworen* pl. R. 37; Lkbsch. *swore* (1); Ellis A *sware* i. I, 147 (Sir T. Boleyn), ii. I, 189 (ambass.); Ellis B *swear* iii. III, 283 (Sir W. Eure), *sware* iii. II, 228 (gentleman), *swere* (? mispr. for *sweres*) ii. II, 56 (agent); Surrey *sware* 325; Tott. *swore* 20, : *more* 8; Cov. *sware* Lk. 1, Gen. xxxi (v. o.), *swore* Deut. i, Ezra x, 5; Hall *sware* 34. 52 (v. o.); Ascham *sware* 27; Tott. B. 516; Hoby *swore* 187; Gasc. *sware* I, 34. 283 (6), *swore* I, 320; Harvey *swore* I, 144; PPP. *swore* I, 74, III, 268, *swoore* I, 158; Fenton *sware* II, 293; LyP. *swore* III, 76 (3), *sware, for-*, III, 319 (3); Sp. *swore* i. xii, 27 (o.), *sware* i. iii, 16 (in rime); Nashe *swore* CT. 103 (so always); Und. *sware* 46. 93 (8); Mann. *swore, for-* 74. 111; Ellis D *swore* i. III, 118. 130 (Mead.); Shaks. *sware* 2H4, iii. ii, 342, Tit. iv. i, 91, Tit. i. i, 487 (Ff. *sware*, Qq. *swore*), *swore* : *before* Lucr. 1848, Cymb. V. v, 417 (between 50 and 60), *forswore* Err. v, 11, MA. v. i, 169 (c. 8); AuV. *sware* Gen. xxi, 31, xxiv, 7 (always), (in NT. *sware* 7 times, once *swore* in T. (Rev. x, 6), in all other versions of the NT. always *sware*); Heyw. *swore* I, 66, II, 39 (7), *sware* VI, 186; BJ. *swore* A. v, v, EMH. ii. iii, iv, i; Sm. *swore* 144. 168 (5); Chapman *swore* HDM. 88, AF. 179; mod. diall. *swɛə(r)* Cai. Cum. Yks. nw. Der., *swored* ne. Nrf. w. Som., *swared* Slk. e. Yks. Lan. Oxf. Brks. w. Som. Dev. Cor. **Ppl.** Cx. *sworne, for-*, C. f ij, R. 12 (usu.), *sworen* R. 6; Ellis A *sworn(e)* usu., *soren* iii. I, 378 (Dk. Norfolk), *forsworon* iii. II, 31 (Warham); Ellis B *sworen* iii. II, 360 (servant); Cov. *sworen* Jdg. xxi, 1, *sworne* Jer. xli; Tott. B. *swore* 2220, *sworne* 1901; Shaks. *sworne, for-*, Sonn. clii, Tp. iv, 91 (usu.), *swore* : *more* i. i, 114; GF. *swore* : *forlore* ppl., *bore* pt. 199; *sworn(e)* only form in Lkbsch., CeP., Sk., Barc., BernH., Ascham, Machyn, Gasc., LyE., LyP., Sp., Und., AuV., Heyw., BJ., etc.; mod. diall. *swɔə(r)* se. Sc. s. Stf. Not. n. Lin. s. Oxf. Brks. Ess. Dor., *sweared* e. Yks. Oxf. w. Som. Dev., *əswuəd* w. Som.

BJG., see § 104. Gill (p. 61) *Sunt et hic ferè omnia cum secundâ Coniugatione communia; idque non ex linguae nostræ proprietate, sed usu potius omnia audente* : *vt*, I swër, I swor, I hav sworn *iuro*, *est secundæ; at* I swer, I swär, I hav

§ 143. **Wake, awake.** The history of these verbs is very similar; in both, two verbs — one strong and intr., the other weak and trans. — have become fused. *Wake* is from the strong verb OE. **wacan* and the weak verb *wacian*. *Awake* is from OE. *awæcnan* intr. and strong, but even in OE. occasionally weak, and *awacian* trans. and weak. For the details of the process of fusion in these verbs see NED. s. v. *Awake*. The pt. *awoke* with [ō] and not [ū] has beeen explained by Bülbring (p. 97) as arising from the influence of the *w*. Cf. *swore*. Pt. *awake* in Cx. is to be explained like *sware* by the influence of verbs in Cl. IV and V. Sp.'s pp. *awoke* is not otherwise exemplified till the 18th century. *Awaken* and *awoken* are given as poetical by NED. for the 17th century. [*Wōk*] is ppl. in mod. diall.

Pt. Cx. *woke* GB. 264, *awoke* GB. 39 (8), *awook* GB. 74, 108, *awake* M. dd vij, *(a)waked* R. 22 (12); Bk. St. Albans *awoke* IIajb; BernH. *wakyd* intr. 101, *awoke* tr. 103 (2), intr. 521 (2), *awoake* intr. 773; Cov. *awaked* Gen. xxviii, 16 (2), *awoke* Mt. viii, 25 (3), *waked* Mk. viii, 24 (4); Hoby *awoke* intr. 193; Sp. *woke* iii. viii, 22, *waked, wakt(e)* iv. vii, 9 (8), *awoke* i. ix, 15 (3), *awooke* : *uplooke* vi. iii, 11, *tooke, strooke, looke* vi. vii, 48, *awakt(e)* ii. viii, 53 (2); AuV. *waked* Zech. iv, 1, *awaked* Jdg. xvi, 14 (6), *awoke* Jdg. xvi, 20 (8); Sm. *awoke* tr. 143, *awaked* tr. 520; in Gasc., PPP., LyP., Und., Shaks., Heyw. only weak; mod. diall. *wok* Wil., *wokt* w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *waked* M. L iij, *awaked* M. L v (2); Or. Sap. *waked* 371; Cov. *waked* Jer. xxxi, 26 (3); Sp. *waked, wakt* iii. x, 49 (3), *awakt(e)*, *awaked* iv. ii, 17 (3), *awoke* v. vii, 27 : *broke* SC. Mch. 28, *awake* given by Boehm from Epith. 92 is the adj.; only weak in Gasc., PPP., LyP., Und., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ.; mod. diall. *wōk* Der. Nrf. n. Dev. Cor., *wōkt* w. Som.

BJG., see § 135. Not in Gill. Butler gives pt. *wak't* or *awoke*, ppl. *waken'd* (p. 48).

3. Verbs with pts. after the manner of the Reduplicating Verbs.

§ 144. **Draw.** The usual pt. from the beginning of the period is *drew(e)*, [*dru(e)*]. *Drough* is directly descended from OE. *drōg, -on*. NED. also gives *to-drow* from Cx. *Chron. Eng.* vi. 12. *Drew* comes from the North or North Midland, where OE. *ā* was preserved in inf., and then *drew* arose on the

analogy of *þrawen, þrew, þrawen* (Bülbring, p. 99). In the ppl. *drewe* occurs once (Und. p. 143), this is not given in NED. The weak forms, which are so common in the dialects I have not found; but the NED. gives *drawed* from Wilson's *Logike* (1580) and from Brent (1619).

Pt. Cx. *drew(e), wyth-* R. 111 (usual), *drewen* pl. R. 116, *drue* B. 23, 46, *drough* sg. R. 17; Lkbsch. *withdrewe* (2); A XXVI *drowgh* : *ynowgh* 111; Pyramus & Thisbe *drowgh* A XII, 20; Cov. *drew* Ex. ii, *drue, with-* Gal. ii, 12 (usu.); Machyn *druw* 64 (3), *drue* 196; Cocks *dru(e)* II, 25. 174 (5); in all other writers *drew(e), with-*; mod. diall. *drawed* in various midl. and southern counties. **Ppl.** Cx. *drawen* GB. 26, B. 175 (usual), *drawe* B. 62, M. e iiij; Or. Sap. *drawe* 371, *drawen* 389; Machyn *drane* 4, 41, 50, *dran* 51, 62, 69, 106; Und. *drawn, drawen, with-* (4), *drewe* 143; otherwise only *drawn(e), drawen, with-*; Barc., Fisher, BernH., Hall, Hoby, AuV. have only *drawen*; Sp. *drawn(e)* (2), *drawen* ii. iv, 38, v. ix, 49 (both times 2 syll.); mod. diall. *driun* Sc., *drawed* Nhb. s. Chs. Lei. War. Shr. Som. Dev., *drǣd* Brks.

BJG. (c. 19) *draw, drew, drawn.* Gill *inf.* drâ (p. 130), drâing (p. 109), drauz (p. 75), withdráu (p. 133), *pt.* drv (p. 119), withdrv (p. 97), *ppl.* draun (p. 149).

§ 145. **Gnaw.** The pres. form *knawe* occurs in A XXXI and Cocks. Bullokar has pres. *knaweth,* ppl. *knawn* (Plessow, pp. 29, 103). *Knawed* is given in NED. as pt. for the 15th century, and *knaw'd* for the 18th century, *knaw'd* as ppl. for the 17th century. Weak forms are given in NED. for the pt. from the 14th century on, for the ppl. from the 17th century on. The pt. is still strong in the dialects of Abd., Yks. Suf.

Inf. A XXXI *knawe* 318; Cocks *knawing* 301, *gnawe* II, 310. **Pt.** Monk of Evesham *gnewe* (Arb.) 83; Cov. *gnewe* Rev. xvi, 10; Gasc. *gnew* I, 402; Sp. *gnawed* v. xii, 30; Shaks. *gnaw'd* R. 3, i. iv, 25; AuV. *gnawed* Rev. xvi, 10 (*T., C. G.* gnewe, *R.* did eate); mod. diall. *niu* Abd. Yks. Suf. **Ppl.** Monk of Evesham *gnawyn* (Arb.) 38; Wyatt *gnawen* XVIII, 282; Gasc. *gnawen* I, 461; Sp. *half-gnawen* v. xii, 39; Shaks. *gnawne* Wiv. ii. ii, 307, *begnawne* Shr. iii. ii, 55; Heyw. *gnaw'd* VI, 40, *gnaw'd him* : *applaud him* VI, 161; BJ. *gnawne* V. iv. i.

Not in BJG. or Gill.

§ 146. **Slay.** OE. *slēan* is seen in *slee*, which continues down to Und. *Slay* is formed from ppl. Cf. *Flay*. *Slein* occurs as early as Juliana B. 49, 18. After that the earliest example is of the year 1478 in *Paston Lett.* 227, where *sley*, *slay* occur once each. Sk.'s inf. *slo* is from early ME. *sla*, that comes either from Scand. *slā* (see Björkman p. 102), or from Old Northumbrian *slān* (< **slahan*), see Kluge, P. Grund. I, 1033. The OE. pt. was *slōg*, *slōh*, *slōgon*, from which the forms *slowe*, *slough* are descended. They do not occur later than *Pyramus and Thisbe*. *Slew* is to be explained like *drew* by the analogy of the Reduplicating Verbs. The OE. ppl. *slagen* became *(i)slawe(n)* in the South; *slain* is from the forms *slegen*, *slægen* with *i*-umlaut (Sievers § 392, 2). *Slone* (A XXVI, 183) is formed from inf. *slo*, the converse to inf. *slay* from ppl. *slain*. *Slayed* (Ellis iii. II, 64) is the only weak form I have been able to find; there are no weak forms in Bradley-Stratmann.

Inf. Cx. *slee* C. a vij, E. 5 (usual); Bk. St. Albans *slee* pt. I b v, *sley* pt. II aj b; CeP. *scle* 70; Plumpton Corr. *slay* 25; Sk. *slo* 7 : *fro* 55, *wo* 80, *sloo* : *foo* (= foe) 303, *sle* 7, *sleth* : *deth* 61, *sleeth* : *dethe* 301; A XXVI *sle* 256; Barc. *sle* II, 81, *slea* I, 139; Ellis A *slee* i. I, 90 (Q. Cath.), ii. I, 196 (agent); Fisher *sle(e)* 6, 133 (4), *sleay* 405; Palsgr. *sleye* 720, *slee* 721; BernH. *sle*, *slee* 24, 43 (usu.), *slay* 14, *sley* 19, 21, 22; Wyatt *sley* : *play* XIX, 191; Cov. *sley(e)* Gen. xliii, Lev. xiv, *slay(e)* Ex. i, Ezek. xvi (*a* seems more common); Hall *slay(e)* 34, 61, *sley(e)* 113, 164, 194 b; Crowley *sleye* : *saye* (E. E. T. S.) 24; Tott. B. *slay* 1046, 1299, *sleath* : *death* Arg. 14; Ascham *sleye* 49; Hoby *slea* 38, 232; Gasc. *slayes* I, 257, *slea* I, 307. 333 (4); LyP. *slay* III, 267 (3); Und. *slea* 20, 21, *slay* 202; Shaks. *slay* : *way* Ven. 624, Lucr. 515, Alls ii. i, 180 : *away* Ven. 765, *decay* Lucr. 515; AuV. *slay* Gen. xxxvii, 18. 20. 26 (&c.); Heyw. *slay* V, 367, VI, 197. **Pt.** Cx. *slewe* C. cij, R. 34 (o.), *thou slewe* M. m vj, *slue* B. 187, *slowe* R. 34, *slough* M. b viij, i ij; Lkbsch. *slough* (2), *slue* (1), *slewe* (1); Sk. *slew* : *grew* I, 71; Pyramus and Thisbe *slough* A XII, 20; BernH. *slew(e)* 4, 27 (always, *sle* given in Glossary as on p. 40 is really pres.); Ascham *slue* 47, 48 (3), *slewe* 39, 41 (6); Hoby *slue* 243, 265; Lei. Corr. *slewe* 252 (3), *slue* 338; Sp. *slew(e)* i. iii, 36 (3), *slue* VG. 647; Und. *slewe* 53, 144, *slue* 213; Shaks. *slew* JC. iii. ii, 28 (usu.), *slue* Lucr. 518; Heyw. *slew* : *imbrew* III, 415 (3), *slue* : *you*

II, 250 (8); Sm. *slew(e)* 23 (0.), *slue* : *true* 820 (3); Cocks *slue* II, 43, *slew* II, 173; *slew(e)* only form in Sk., Barc., Tott., Cov., Hall, Machyn, Ellis, Gasc., LyP., AuV. **Ppl.** Cx. *slayn(e)* E. 12 (usu.), *slayen* B. 129; CeP. *s(c)layne* (3); A XXVI *slone* : *bon* (= *bone*), *wone* 183; Ellis A *slain*, *slayne* (6), *slane* i. I, 94 (Dacre), *slayed* iii. II, 64 (Ld. Morley); Hall *slayn(e)*, *slaine* 13. 159 (usu.), *sleyne* 159. 159 b; Machyn *slayn(e)* 64 (6), *slene* 92, *slane* 228; Sp. *slaine*, etc. i. vi, 88 (o.), *yslaine* iii. v, 9; Cocks *slayne*, *slaine* II, 53. 91 (usu.), *slane* II, 173; otherwise *slayn(e)*, *slain(e)* only form in Lkbsch., Sk., Barc., Fisher, Cov., Ellis, Gasc., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., etc.

BJG. (c. 19) *slay, slew, slain.* Gill ppl. *slain* (pp. 35. 77).

4. Verbs generally weak.

§ 147. **Bake.** This verb began to be weak in the 15th century. I have found no example of a strong pt.; the latest example in NED. is of the 15th century for the South; *buik*, *beuk* still occur in Scotland in the 16th century. A strong ppl. occurs as late as the AuV.; it is also common in the dialects. Ppl. *bake* (Ellis) is given by NED. for 14th-16th centuries.

Pt. Cov. *baked* Gen. xix, 3 (always); Shaks. *bak'd* Ham. i. v, 71 (Qq *barckt*); AuV. *baked* Nu. xi, 8; Cocks *baked* II, 113; mod. diall. *buk* Sc. (*obsol.*), *bakit* ne Sc. **Ppl.** Cx. *bacen* Ca M. lj, *bake* M.; Ellis A *bake* ii. I, 202 (ambass.); Palsgr. *baken* 442; Ellis B *baken* iii. III, 82 (agent); Cov. *baken* Lev. xxiii, 17 (always); Bullein (1564—78) *baken* (E. E. T. S.) 147; Kyd *backt* HP. 248; Shaks. *bakt(e)* Ham. i. ii, 180 (etc.); AuV. *baked* 1 Chr. xxiii, 29, Isa. xliv. 19, *baken* 1 Kgs. xix, 16, Lev. ii, 24 (9, 8 from Lev.); Sm. *baked* 62; Heyw. *bak't*, *baked* IV, 142 (3); mod. diall. *bēkn* Sc.

Not in or BJG. or Gill.

§ 148. **Fare.** I have not found any strong forms after Cx. NED. quotes pt. *fore* from More (*Conf. Tindale* Wks. 651/2) and gives *fur(e)* in the form-list from 14th-17th centuries, but there are no quotations for our period. In the ppl., *faren* is given from W. de Worde's ed. of *Festivall* (1515) p. 34 b, and *fare* is given in the form-list for the 16th century, but without quotation.

Ppl. Cx. *faren* M. n v, *farne* M. M j. Otherwise always weak.

§ 149. **Flay.** The inf. *flea* which lasted down to the 19th century comes directly from OE. *flēan*. *Flay* shows the influence of the ppl.; cf. *slay*. NED. gives for the 16th-17th centuries (dialect 18th-19th centuries) the inf. *flawe*, which also came from the ppl. For the ppl. NED. gives the forms *flawe(n)* for 15th-16th centuries; this is the phonetic descendant of OE. *flagen*. The form *flawed* shows the vowel-change of the strong and the ending of the weak verbs, or it may simply be a back-formation from inf. *flaw*. The usual ppl. *flain* is from OE. *flegen* with i-umlaut, see Sievers § 392, 2.

Inf. Palsgr. *fley* 551; Sk. *fleyest* I, 259; BernH. *flee* 502; Levins *to flea* : *flea* (*pulex*), *sea*, *yea* 204; Nashe *flea* SW. F 3 b; Shaks. *fleaing* Corr. iii. iii, 89, *flaying* WT. iii. ii, 187; AuV. *flay* Lev. i, 6 (3). **Pt.** Eliz. Eng. *flead* 100; Heyw. *flayd* V, 23, AuV. *flayed* 2 Chr. xxxv, 11; Bolle *flead* : *head* in *Liederbücher* 33. **Ppl.** Cx. *flayn* R. 88, M. ciiij, *flain* E. 101, *fleyen* FSA. 25 (1554 *slayne*); BernH. *flayne* 501; Bullein Dialogue Pest. *flaine* 84, *flaied* (E. E. T. S.) 73; A XXVI *fflayn* : *slayn*, *payn* 260; Gasc. *fleyd* I, 82, *flayed* I, 233; Und. *fleyed* 147; Shaks. *fled* WT. iv. iv, 655, *flayd* WT. iv. iv, 812. 835. 845; BJ. *flead* BF. iii. iv, *flaw'd* A. iv. iii; Sm. *flayed* 848.

Not in Gill or BJG.

§ 150. **Grave, engrave.** NED. gives ppl. *graue* from Douglas *Æneis* Epitaph (1513). Weak forms appear already in the 14th century, the latest example of the strong pt. is in the 15th century, the strong ppl. has lasted down to our own time. *Engrave*, which came into the language in the 16th century, has always had a weak pt., but a strong and a weak ppl. have existed side by side from the first.

Pt. AuV. *graued* 2 Chr. iii, 7 (2). **Ppl.** Cx. *begrauen* FSA. 532; Fisher *ingraued* 391. 396; Palsgr. *engrauen* 535; Wyatt *grauen* XVIII, 276. 483; Cov. *grauen* Ex. xxviii. xxxix, Tott. B. *ygraud* B. 94; Hall *grauen* 44 (5); Ascham *grauen*, *en-*, 7. 199; Gasc. *grauen* II, 323, *engraued* I, 356; LyE. *engrauen* II, 77 [E, rest *ingraued*] (8), *grauen* I, 295; LyP. *engrauen* II, 470 (3); Eliz. Eng. *graffin* 134; Sp. *engraued* : *saued* VG. 688 (3), *en-*

grauen iv. vii, 46 (3), *grauen* iv. x, 6; Und. *grauen* 134; Eliz. & Jas. *ingrauen* 17; Nashe *engrauen* TN. E 3, *ingraued* UT. G 1 b; Kyd *grauen* (3), *ingrauen* (1); Ellis D *grauen* i. III, 69 (St. P.); Shaks. *grauen* Sonn. c, R. 3, iv. iv, 141 (Ff. *branded*), *grau'd* MV. ii. vii, 36, *engrauen* Lucr. 203, *engrau'd* TG. ii. vii, 4, 1H6, ii. vii, 15; AuV. *grauen* Ex. xxxii, 16 (55), *ingrauen* 2 Cor. iii, 17; Heyw. *grauen* I, 296, II, 223, *engrauen* II, 215, *ingrauen* III, 322. 337, *ingrau'd* II, 157; BJ. *ingrauen* V. i. ii; Sm. *grauen* on title-pp. and frontispieces, *engrauen* 867.

§ 151. **Heave.** The OE. forms were *hebban, hōf, hōfon, hafen,* but already in late OE. the weak forms *hefde, hefod* had arisen. In early ME. the double consonant of the inf. was supplanted by a single consonant under the influence of the numerous forms which had *v.* (Bülbring p. 97.) *Houe* in Cov. is from the regular OE. pt., it lasted till the 18th century in literary English (see NED.), and is still common in special senses in the dialects. It is allowed by Butler (p. 48). In early ME. a pt. *hēf* was formed on the analogy of the verbs of Class V (see Bülbring p. 182). This is the origin of *heue, heef* in Cx. *Heue* with *v* (*u*) is curious in Cx., who usually has *f* in these verbs, see § 189. It survives as [*īv*] in Lan. *Hive* in Cocks may be a mere misspelling for *heve*; it is not in NED. I have found only weak forms for the ppl., but NED. gives *houen* from *Broughton's Lett.* ii, 8 (1599). *Hoven* is allowed by Butler (p. 48).

Pt. Cx. *heue* sg. M. c iij, pl. dd vij, *heef* R. 95, 96, *heued* B. 28, 88; Cov. *houe* Ex. xxxv; Cocks *hive* II, 203. Otherwise always weak. Mod. diall. (*h*)*ōv*, (*h*)*uv* from Sc. to Cor., *īv* Lan., *hoved, huved* Sh. I. w. Som., *heft* Hrf. Glo. Cor.; ppl. (*h*)*ovn*, (*h*)*uvn*, *hvvn* from Sc. to e. An., (*h*)*ōv* Nhb. Nhp. Glo., *hoved* Sc. n. Ir. w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *heued* B. 93, 164; mod. diall., see under pt.

§ 152. **Lade.** The pt. was altogether weak from the 14th century. Weak forms appear in the ppl. from the 15th century, and have existed together with the strong forms down to the present day. In the 16th century the weak verb *load* took on a strong ppl. *loaden* in imitation of *laden.* I have given the forms for *load* in the lists for the sake of

comparison. For the ppl. *lade* cf. § 191. *Yladen* in Gasc. is pure archaism, of course. Süssbier explains *ledyn* by the side of *ladyn* on the supposition that *a* was perhaps already raised in an open syllable (p. 24).

Pt. Cov. *laded* Gen. xlii; Hall *laded* 111b; Sm. *laded* 832, *vnladed* 12, *loaded* 96, 446, *vnloaded* 604, 827. **Ppl.** Cx. *laden* E. 75, B. 111 (5), *lade* M. lj; CeP. *ledyn, ladyn* 117; Barc. *lade* I, 13. 158. 298, *ladyd* I, 125 [*lad* given by Dahlheimer from II, 77, is the ppl. of *lead*]; Fisher *laden* 106, *loaden* 354; Ascham *loded* 37; Gasc. *laden* I, 214. 219, *vnloden* I, 223, *yladen* II, 308; Fenton *loden* II, 81, *loaden* II, 149; LyE. *laden, ouer-* I, 188. 304, *loden* II, 45, *loaden* II, 76; LyP. *loaded* II, 149; Und. *loden* 31; Shaks. *laden* Ven. 1022 (4), *loaden* 1H4, i. i, 37 (5), *loden* Cor. v. iii, 164 (1); Heyw. *loden* I, 117, *laden* VI, 21 (8); Voy. C. *laden* pp. xxxiv, xxxvi, *ouer loaden* p. xliii, *loaden* 30 (7); Sm. *loaded* 11 (11), *loded* 20 (1), *laded* 12, *reladed* 107, *loaden* 306 (5), *ouer-loaden* 406; *laden* only form in Cov., Hall, Ellis, Machyn, Hoby, Eliz. & J., Mann.; mod. diall. *lēd* Sc., *lod* Sh. I. Ess., *laded* Edb. Cum. w. Som.

§ 153. **Laugh.** Pt. *lough* is directly descended from OE. ~*hlōh, hlōgon*. It is frequent about 1500, but does not survive long after that, except in dialects; see the quotation from Gill below.

Pt. Cx. *lough* M. a vj, x vj (o.), *lawghed* C. g viij, *lawhed* R. 23, 71, *laughed* M. x vij, R. 14 (common); Fisher *lough* 167, 306; Bk. St. Albans *laugh* a j b; A XXVI *lowgh* : *ynowgh* 111, 127, *louȝ* 116, *louȝh* 121, *low* 115 (so *P. MS.* time Edw. IV, *R. MS.* (a. 1500) lowgh, *W. de Worde* lauhed, *Percy Folio MS.* laught). Otherwise only weak. Mod. diall. *liuχ, lof* Sc. Nhb. Cum. Lan., ppl. *lāχn* Sc.

Gill (p. 60) says *Vt* tu lauh *rideo, si ipsis placet est* tu laf; *& pro imperfecto* I lauhed, *audies* I lüh, *aut* ai lvh *ridebam*; (p. 114) *pt.* lauht, (p. 128) lauhed, *prs. ppl.* lauhing.

§ 154. **Shape.** In OE. the inf. was *scieppan*. But there was a weak verb *sceapian*, and this in time ousted the strong inf., especially because the conjugation *shape(n), shope, shapen* was just like that of *shake* or *fare*. So there was an inf. *shape(n)* with two sets of pts. and ppls., one weak and one

strong. The strong pt. *shope* comes down in prose as late as Cov. It is also to be found in Sp.'s archaic poetry. It is still used in Abd. dialect. The strong ppl. *shapen* is still used in AuV.; as an adj. it also occurs in phrases like *ill-shapen* in Heyw., though he also has *three-, well-shaped.* Shaks. has *unshaped* (Haml. iv. v, 8) and *unshapen* (R. 3 i. ii, 251 = *misshapen*), both as adj. *Shapn* is still used in Sc. and m. Yks. *Misshapen* is an adj. that is first found in the 14th century, the verb *misshape* is not recorded till the 15th century. See NED. In our period *misshaped* is also used adjectivally. Heyw. has also ppl. *transhaped.* The ppl. *shape* occurs in *Pyramus and Thisbe.*

Pf. Cx. *shope* M. G iiij; Surrey *shope* Æneid ii, 584; Cov. *shope* Gen. ii; Tott. B. *shope* 1030; Sp. *shope* v. v, 39 (in rime), *misshaped* i. viii, 16, otherwise *shaped, shapt* from Palsgr. on; mod. diall. *ʃūp* Abd. **Ppl.** Cx. *shapen* B. 37 (3), *mysshaped* FSA. 375, *myshapen* M. m v, *wel shapen* B. 59; Pyr. & Thisbe *shape* : *escape* A XII, 16; Fisher *shapen* 134; Wyatt *shapen* XVIII, 275; Cov. *shapen* Eph. iv, *shappen* Job xxxi; Tott. B. *yshapd* 679; Hoby *shaped* 205 (3); Gasc. *well shapt* I, 102; Googe *mishapen* Eglogs (Arb.) 122; LyE. *misshapen* I, 307; Sp. *shaped, shapt* &c. iii. ii, 19 (9), *misshaped, mis-shapt* i. ii, 34 (2); before a noun *misshapen, mishapen* i. ii, 41 (3); Shaks. *shap'd* R. 3 i. i, 14 (2), *unshaped* Haml. iv. v, 8, *unshapen* R. 3 i. ii, 251; AuV. *shapen* Ps. li, 5; Heyw. *shap't, shap'd* III, 141 (4), *ill-shapen* adj. V, 98, *three-shap't* adj. III, 254, *well shap'd* adj. pred. VI, 226, *mis-shapen* adj. V, 98, adj. pred. V, 106, *misshap'd* adj. pred. VI, 269, *transhap'd, -apt* VI, 263 (4), *vnshap'd* II, 216; GH. *misshapen* 185; mod. diall. *ʃapn* Sc. m. Yks.

§ 155. **Shave.** Weak forms had occurred since Laȝamon and Trevisa (see Bülbring p. 98). The strong pt. *shoue* does not occur later than Cov. *Shaven* occurs down to the end of the period. Shaks. and Cocks have *shaven* as adj., *shaved* as ppl.

Pt. Cx. *shoef* R. 18, Cov. *shoue* Jdg. xvi, 2, 2 Sam. x, 4, *shaued* Job i, 20; LyE. *shaued* I, 291; AuV. *shaued* 2 Sam. x, 4 (4); Cocks *shaued* 188. **Ppl.** Cx. *shauen* E. 88; Palsgr. *shauen, -yn* 701; Cov. *shauen* Nu. vi, 19, 1 Cor. xi, 5. 6 (7); Gasc. *shauen* II, 210; PPP. *shauen* I, 316; LyP. *shau'n* III, 150; Shaks.

shauen adj. MA. iii. iii, 145, *shau'd* 1 H 4, iii. iii, 68; AuV. *shauen* 1 Cor. xi, 5. 6 (so *T.*, *C.*, *G.*; *R.* balde) (7); Heyw. *new-shav'd* VI, 170; Sm. *shauen* 20. 944; Cocks *shaued* 164, *shauen* adj. 194; Dekker 7 Sinnes *shauen* (Arb.) 40; mod. diall. */ɔvn* Yks. Shr.

Not in Gill or BJG.

§ 156. **Wash.** The inf. is usually *wash*; *wesshe* in Cx. and Ellis is from OE. *wæscian*. It occurs in early ME. as the inf. of this verb, see Bülbring p. 100. *Wosse* (Machyn p. 230) is interesting as early evidence of the influence of *w* on succeeding *a*. Cf. § 131. Otherwise Cooper is the first to mention this (Sweet HES. § 785). The pt. *weeshe*, *wesshe* arose by analogy with the reduplicating verbs in early ME. (cf. Bülbring p. 100). It is still used in Scotland. *Wish* I am unable to explain. It occurs as pt. in Cx. and A XXVI, but not in modern dialects. *Washen* I have only found in Bible translations after 1500, except for Fitzherbert, though it is still common in dialect.

Inf. Cx. *wes(s)he* D. 14 (2), *weeshe* D. 46, *wasshe* D. 26, etc.; Ellis A *wesshyng* 15, Ellis B *wassinge*, *wasshinge* ii. II, 215; Machyn *wosse* 230; in other works *was(s)he*. **Pt.** Cx. *weeshe* GB. 255, R. 116, *wesshe* M. I viij, *wasshe* M. I ij (2), *wysshe* FSA. 38. 336, *wasshed* E. 108, FSA. 378; A XXVI *wisshe* 227; Cov. *waszhed* Jn. ix, 7 (7), *weszhed* Rev. 1. 5, *washed* Jdg. xix, 21, Ex. xl, 32; in all other writers weak; mod. diall. *wef*, *wɔf* Sc. Yks. **Ppl.** Cx. *wasshen* M. a viij, *washen* GB. 252, *wasshed* E. 110; Guylforde *wesshen* Pilgrimage (Camden) 42; A XXVI *washen* 152; Fitzherbert *washen* § 122; Cov. *waszshen* Jn. xiii, 14 (4), *vnwaszhen* Mk. vii. heading, *was(s)hed*, *waszhed* Jn. xiii, 10 (a.), 2 Pet. ii, 22 (8); AuV. *washed* S. Sol. v, 3. 12 (20), *unwashen* Mt. xv, 20, Mk. v, 2. 5 (*T.* vnwesshen[2], vnweshen, *C.* vnwasshen[2], vnwesshen, *G.* vnwasshen[2], vnwashen, *R.* vnwashen, not washed ppl., common); in all other writers weak; mod. diall. *waʃn* Sc., *weʃn* Dmf. w. Yks. *wɔʃn* Sc. Sh. J.

Not in BJG. Gill conjugates it weak.

§ 157. **Wax.** The OE. inf. was *weaxan*, which became *wexan* by palatal umlaut (Sievers § 101). *Weaxan* or rather

Anglian *wœxan* is the parent of the form *wax*, *wexan* of *wex*. In OE. the regular pt. was *wōx*, which is the origin of the form *wox* in Tott. and Sp. Nares gives quotations for *woxe* from Sidney, and Hall's *Satires*. Owing, however, to the double consonant, a pt. *wēox* was formed on the analogy of the reduplicating verbs, from this comes *wex* in Cx. and A XXVI. The pt. *waxe* in Cx. and W. de W.'s variant to A XXVI is from ME. *wœx*, formed on the analogy of Class V. (Bülbring p. 101). The ppl. *waxen* is found as late as Shaks. and AuV. *Wexen* was probably formed from pt. *wex* on the analogy of *waxen* from pt. *wax*. *Woxen* is found in Cx. and Sp. Smith has *cremisse* voxen (p. 19). Nares also quotes it from Hall's *Satires*. Sp. also has the short form *woxe*.

Inf. Cx. *waxe* GB. 145, *wexe* C. h vj, B. 54, ps. pl. *wexen* Cu. 16; Sp. *wex(e)* i. xi, 1 (10), *wax* (? pt.) ii. x, 30 (3). Nashe *wexeth* TN. E 2 b; in other writers *wax(e)*. **Pt.** Cx. *waxe* R. 17 (2), *wexe* R. 18. 34, *waxed, -id, waxt* M. G ij, b iij (often in M.), *wexed* GB. 271 (4); A XXVI *wex* 115 [*W. de W.* wax], *wexed* 258. 262; Cov. *waxed* Lk. i (usu.), *wexed* Rev. xvi; Tott. B. *wox* 830; Hall *waxed* 59 (3), *wexed* 59 (1); Hoby *wexed* 103; Sp. *wox(e)* ii. x, 17 (15), *wexed, wext* i. vii, 5 (11), *waxed, waxt* Epigr. 1 (2); Nashe *wext* UT. C 2 b; in Gasc. PPP., LyE., LyP., Und., Shaks., AuV. *waxed*. **Ppl.** Cx. *waxen* R. 79, M., *wexen* E. 14, *woxen* R. 6. 9 (3), *wexed* E. 85 (3); Cov. *waxen* Ps. xviii, *wexed* Rev. xviii, 3; Hoby *wexed* 37 (o.); Ellis C *waxen* ii. III, 36 (bishop); Gasc. *waxen* I, 351, II, 261; Greene *waxen* Menaphon (Arb.) 80; Pilgr. Parn. *waxen* (ed. Macray) i, 60; Sp. *woxen* i. v, 12 (9), *woxe* Sc. June 109, *waxen* iii. i, 58 (3), *wext* iv. ii, 52; Shaks. *waxt* Tim. iii. iv, 11, *waxen* Lucr. 1663, 2 H 6 iii. ii, 76; AuV. *waxen* Deut. xxxii, 15 (12), *woxed* Acts xxviii, 27 (8) (In NT., T., C. have *wexed* 8, *waxed* 1, G. *waxed* 9, R. *waxed* 1, *waxen* 1, AuV. *waxed* 3).

Gill (p. 107) says wexed *pt.* is *obsoletum*.

Reduplicating Verbs.

§ 158. In OE. these verbs had the same vowel in inf. and ppl., and the same vowel in pt. sg. and pl. For our purposes the class may be divided into four sections:

α) with *ēa* or *ǣ* in inf.,
β) with *ōw-*, *āw-*, *ēawan* in inf.,
γ) with *a* (WS. *ea*) before *l* + consonant in inf.,
δ) miscellaneous.

1. Verbs with *ēa* or *ǣ* in inf.

This group contains the verbs *beat, dread, leap, let, read, shed.* They all adopted weak forms on the analogy of verbs like *lead, led* in ME. The short vowel passed from the pt. and ppl. into the inf. in all the verbs except *read*, and this inf. became established as the standard one in *dread, let, shed.* There is reason to believe that these three verbs could still have an inf. with a long vowel in the 16th century. *Beat* is the only one of these verbs which has remained strong to the present day; in the 16th century it had, like the others, an inf., pt. and ppl. with a short vowel, though the conjugation with a long vowel was by for the more frequent.

§ 161. **Beat.** The OE. verb was *bēatan, bēot, bēaten.* The pt. *bēot* > *bɛ̄t* > *beet* with [ī] circa 1500. Bullokar (p. 168) once gives [ɛ̄], but Gill [ɛ̄] (p. 60); Butler gives it the same vowel as the inf. (p. 48). NED. says the form with [ī] became obsolete in the 16th century, and was then superseded by [ɛ̄], which it supposes to be a back-formation from *beated, betid.* As the weak forms are comparatively rare, this does not seem likely. *Beat(e)* was already a form of

the inf. and ppl., and it is more likely that *beat* was taken into the pt. to make the conjugation *beat, beat, beat* like *set,* or it may only have taken place on the analogy of *eat.* Another question which scarcely comes within our province, is whether the change is really so late as the 15th century. A form with [ĕ] in pt. and ppl. had existed from early ME., probably on the analogy of the short pt. in *lead, read,* etc. In our period it is attested for the pt. by Cheke (p. 40), Smith (see Ellis p. 882), and Gill, for pt. and ppl. in BJG. (see § 117). Ascham once spells the ppl. *bette* (p. 191), and there are numerous short spellings for the pt., and the ppl. *betten* occurs in *3 Chronicles* (Camden) 79. Gill says it is a dialect use, and BJG. allows *beaten* by the side of *bett* for the ppl. *Bet* is a common pt. and ppl. in dialect; see the lists. The inf. *bett(e)* in BernH. and Machyn points to a short vowel, but there is nothing in the phoneticians to support it. It might be explained as a back-formation from the pt., cf. *dread, let.* Hanssen explains it as having been shortened before a dental (p. 121). The weak pt. is exemplified in NED. from the 13th century; I have only found it in Cx. and *Plumpton Corr.* (p. 157). *Beatedst* (LyP. III, 200) does not necessarily come from a form *beated*; the *d* may have been inserted to distinguish it from the present. See § 187. *Beated* occurs in some modern dialects of Scotland; see the list. *Beated* occurs once in the ppl. in Shaks. NED. gives it only for the 17th century. Diehl (p. 33) gives a form *bytten* for the ppl. from the *Egerton Papers* (Camden) p. 228. But this is really the ppl. of *bite*; it has nothing to do with *beat.* The form with the prefix *y, i* (*ibet* in Tott., *ybet* in Sp.) is of course poetical, but the spelling is significant.

Inf. Cx. *bete* B. 58, M. m vj; Sk. *bete* : *frete* I, 53, *swete* (= *sweat* sb.) I, 278; BernH. *bete, -ynge* 133. 333 (5), *bet(te)* 389 (3); Fisher *bete, -yng* 89, 324; J. Heywood *beate* : *entreate* Sp. & F. 128; Ellis B *betyng* i. II, 81 (agent); Tott. *beate* : *greate* 15. 72, *freat* inf. 27, *to-fret* ppl. (v. r. *freate*) 204; Machyn *bett* 161; Lei. Corr. *beatt* 30; Levins *beate* : *eate, bleate,* etc. 212; *beat(e)* only form in Palsgr., Cov., Hall, Ascham, Hoby, Gasc., LyE., LyP., Und., Shak., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm., Cocks. **Pt.** Cx. *bete* M. P vij (o.), *bete* GB. 35. 47, *betyd* M. n v, *beten* pl. R. 27; Plumpton Corr. *beated* (Camden) 157

(date 1501); A XXVI *bete* 129, *bet(te)* 258 (3); Ellis A *beytt* iii. II, 83 (Lord Dudley); Palsgr. *bette* 452; BernH. *bet, bett(e)* 86. 188 (innumerable), *bete* 339. 345; Surrey *beatt* 329; Cov. *beate* Nu. xi, 8, *bete* Jonah iv, 8, *bett* Lk. vi, 41-9, Matt. xxi, 35 (6), *bet* Mk. xii, 3, Nu. xvi (7); Surrey *beatt* 329; Hall *bet* 28. 44 (15), *beate* 241b; Machyn *bett* 301. 311; Gasc. *bet* I, 105. 109; LyP, *thou beatedst* III, 200; Sp. *bet(t)* ii. ii, 22 (9); Und. *beatte* 281; Shaks. *beat(e)* Lucr. 489 (12); AuV. *beat* Nu. xi, 8 (c. 16) [*T. bet* 6, *beet* 1, *C. bet* 8, *G. beat* 4, *bet* 3; *R. beat(e)* 3, *bette* 3]; Heyw. *beat(e)* III, 315 (3); BJ. *beate* BF. iii. v.; Sm. *beat* 226 (6); mod. diall. *bet, bæt* Sc. Irel. n. Cy. w. Yks. s. Chs. Not. Lei. Ken., *beated* w. Frf. e. Per. **Ppl.** Cx. *betyn, -en* R. 26 (o.), *to-beten* R. 23, *bete* M. n v, Q v, *bette* E. 96; Ellis A *beatten* i. I, 220 (anon.), *betyn* ii. I, 299 (Sir J. Russell); Sk. *beaten* : *eaten* I, 313; Fisher *beten* 229; A XXVI *beten* 258; Palsgr. *beate* 452; Ellis B *beten, -on* ii. II, 46, iii. III, 144 (both by men of position); BernH. *beten, beaten* 75 (o.), *betten* 133. 323; Machyn *beyten* 311; Hall *beaten* 5. 240 (12), *beten, -yn* 9b (5); Ascham *beat(e)* 45. 182, *bette* 191; Tott. B. *beaten* 808. 1371, *ibet* 783; Crowley *beate* : *sweate* inf. (E. E. T. S.) 15; LyE. *beaten* I, 191 (usu.), *beate* I, 297 [G. *rest* beaten]; Marl. *beaten, beat(e)*; Sp. *beaten* ii. vii, 21 (7), *sea-beate* SC. Feb. 34, *bet(t)* i. vii, 28 (3), *ybet* iv. iv, 9; Shaks. *beaten* Lucr. 175 (c. 45), *beat* WT. i. ii, 33 (11), *beated* Sonn. lxii; Heyw. *beaten* I, 21 : *eaten* VI, 185. 200 (15), *weather-beaten* II, 297, *beat(e)* I, 278 (4); BJ. *beaten* E. iv. v, (8), *beat(e)* V. v. xii (3); Sm. *beaten* 308 (6), *beat(e)* 59 (5); *beaten* is the only form in Cov., Hoby, Gasc., Ellis C, PPP., Levins, LyP., Mann., Und., AuV., Voy. C., Cocks; mod. diall. *bīt, bet* Irel. n. Cy. w. Yks. Chs. Not. Lin. Lei. War. Shr. Cmb.

BJG., see § 117. Gill (pp. 59-60) '*Tertia anomalia est penitus immobilium; vt,* J kast .. I bët *verbero* .. I spit .. *nam* I bet .. I spat .. *sunt dialecti.*'

§ 162. **Dread.** There was no simple verb *drǣdan* in OE.; but there was an *on-drǣdan* which Pogatscher explains as a derivative of *rǣdan* (A. Bbl. XIV, 182). Long rimes are still found for the inf. in the 16th century as late as Shaks. Ellis gives [*dreed*] from Smith, but does not say whether it is verb, noun, or adjective (p. 888). The pt. *drad,*

which comes down as late as Gasc. and Sp., and is still in the dialects, is the regular southern development of OE. *(on-)drædde*. The pt. and ppl. form *dredde* arose on the analogy of *lead, led*, etc. The ppl. had in OE. the same long vowel as the inf.; how far, if at all, this long vowel existed in the 16th century, the ambiguity of the spelling makes it difficult to say. Once in Sp. it rimes with *aread* inf., *lead* pres. (vi. ix, 33), but the short rimes are much more frequent. See Bauermeister, § 30. The spelling *drede* in Ellis is not of much importance, as it only occurs once. In modern dialects a long vowel is found in e. and m. Yks.; see the lists. *Drad* in the ppl. comes from the pt. The ppl. *dread* came to be used as an adj., meaning 'causing dread'; see NED. The weak pt. and ppl. *dreaded* was probably formed from the inf. after that had become short. *Ydraded* in GF. is a curious mixture of weak and strong.

Inf. Cx. *drede* GB. 149; Or. Sap. *drede* 359; Sk. *drede* : *agrede* 230; Fisher *drede* 11 (4), *dread* 358; Palsgr. *drede* (3), *dreade* (1) 528; Wyatt *dred* : *spred* pt., *bred* (= breadth) XIX, 422; Surrey *dreadeth* 303; Hoby *dread* 229; Gasc. *dredde* I, 175, *dread* I, 294 (v. o.); Levins *to Dreede* : *breede, bleede, feede* 52; LyE. *dread* I, 222 (2); Robinson *dreed* : *proceed* in *Handf. Pleas. Delightes* (Arb.) 31; Kyd *dread* Cor. 530 (6); Sp. *dred* ii. xii, 9; Shaks. *dreadeth* : *leadeth, pleadeth* Lucr. 270; AuV. *dread* Deut. i, 29 (2). **Pt.** Cx. *drad(de)* C. I viij (o.), *dred(de)* GB. 37 (6); Or. Sap. *dredde* 349; Fisher *dredde* 146. 305; Fenton *dreaded* II, 121; Gasc. *foredrad* I, 256; Sp. *drad* ii. i, 45 (3); mod. diall. *drad, dræd* Sc. e. and m. Yks. Lan. **Ppl.** Cx. *drad* GB. 124, M. Z v ij, *adrad(de)* M. c iij (3 in M.), *dred* B. 185; Lkbsch. *drad* (1); Ellis A *drede* ii. I, 299 (Sir J. Russell), *drad* iii. I, 191 (Sir J. Stile), adj. ii. II, 6 (bishop); Pica *adrad* 70; Fisher *drad* 26, *dred* 160, *dredde* 269, *adrad* 150, *dreade* 389. 393; Wyatt *dread* XIX, 416; Hall *drad* 103 b, 104 b; Ascham *drad* adj. p. ix, 9; Gasc. *dread* I, 345, II, 105; PPP. *dradde* I, 109; Kyd *dread* adj. Jer. 727 (6); Sp. *dread(e)* (2), *dred(d)* i. i, 8 (o.), *drad(d)* ii. iv, 42 (6), *ydred* ii. xii, 38, *ydrad* i. i, 2 (4), *adrad* vi. v, 16, *dreaded* i. iv, 48 (2), *dreadded* v. ix, 1, *adred(de)* (3); Shaks. *dreaded* Cor. iv. vi, 55, 2H4, i. ii, 78, *all-dreaded* Cymb. iv. ii, 271, *dreaded* adj. Cor. iii. iii, 98 (3), *dread* adj. Lucr. 965 (o.); Heyw. *dread* adj. I, 31. 47 (o.);

dreaded : *unheaded* VI, 156, *all-dreaded* VI, 157; Sm. *drad* adj. 185, *dreaded* 185. 494; GF. *ydraded* 142; mod. diall. *driədn* e. and m. Yks., *drad, dræd* Sc. Lan. n. Lin.

BJG., see § 117. Not in Gill.

§ 163. **Leap.** The pres. and inf. form *lope,* which occurs in Greene (*Jas. IV* l. 26), is derived by NED. from ON. *hlǫupa.* The earliest instance is from the *Catholicon Anglicum* (1483); the modern dialects have *loup, lope, lawp*; cp. Björkman, p. 71. The NED. gives other instances of *lope* from the 16th and 17th centuries. Shaks. rimes *leaps* : *steps* (Ven. 279), but also *leape* : *reape* (Sonn. cxxviii). A short pronunciation is supported by the spelling *leppe* from 15th-17th centuries, see NED. Cf. also *Kep* in NED., which is a back-formation from pt. *kept* and is now a common Scotch form. *Reap* had also a short form *rip* in the 16th century, see NED. Further, the inf. with a short vowel exists in many present-day dialects, including that of Warwickshire; see Wright EDD. s. v. *Lips* in *Eliz. Eng.* probably has [ī]. The OE. pt. was *lēop,* from which *leep* in Cx., *lepe* in A XXVI, and *leape* in Cov. are regularly descended. *Lope,* which arose in the 14th century on the analogy of Cl. IV and V, is noted by NED. as late as the 17th century. I have found it in Gasc. and Sp. It is still in dialects. The weak forms, which first arose in the 13th century, are much the more numerous. For the ppl. I have found only weak forms. But the NED. gives *lopen* for the 13th-16th centuries, and *loppen* for the 16th century. This latter form is still in the dialects.

Inf. Cx. *lepe* B. 44, Cu. 3, M. Z iiij; Sk. *lepe* 24; Barc. *lepe* I, 15; Palsgr. 606; Ascham *leape* 27. 103; Lei. Cor. *leaping* 465 (admiral); Levins *leape* : *heape, reape* 204; Eliz. Eng. *lips* 148; Und. *leaping* 134; Shaks. *leape* : *reape* Sonn. cxxviii, *leaps* : *steps* Ven. 279. **Pt.** Cx. *leep* GB. 113, R. 22 (o. in R.), *lepe* R. 17. 38. 76, *lept(e)* E. 141, B. 47, M. I j (4 in B., o. in M.); A XXVI *lepte* 121 [*R (a1500)* lepe], *leped* 130 [*P. (temp. Edw. IV)* lepe, *W. de W.* lepte]; Cov. *leape* Acts xxviii, *leapte* Gen. xxxi; Gasc. *lope* I, 133. 172, *lept(e)* : *slept* I, 174, *kept* I, 357 (8), *leapt* I, 385; Sp. *lope* SC. Mch. 81, *lepped* SC. Mch. 92, *leapt, lept, leaped* iv. iv, 31 (8); in Barc., Palsgr., BernH., Hall, Lei. Cor., LyP., Und., Shaks., AuV., BJ., Heyw., only

weak; mod. diall. *lap, lop, lōp, lup* Sc. n. Cy. Lan. Chs. nw. Der., *lapt* w. Sc. Edb., *luppit* Per. **Ppl.** In Hall, Wyatt, Gasc., LyE., Sp., Shaks., AuV., Heyw. only weak, not found elsewhere; mod. diall. *lopn* Sc. n. Ir. n. Cy. w. Yks. Lan. Chs. nw. Der., *lipn* Lan.

Not in BJG. or Gill.

§ 164. **Let.** The OE. verb was *lætan* (*lētan*), *lēt*, *gelæten* (*gelēten*). In ME. *lætan* became *lęte*. *Lete* occurs pretty often in Cx. and sometimes in the 16th century. It is doubtful, however, if the form denotes a long vowel. Cf. § 1. *Leatt* occurs in Ellis and *leate* in Bale's *K. Johan* l. 26. Bale also has *lete* ll. 75. 99 and *let* l. 75. *Leete* occurs in J. Heywood's *Spider & Flie* l. 435 (see Unna p. 22). In Hawes *let* rimes with *bete* inf. (p. 136) and with *set* ppl. (pp. 153. 173). *Beat* may have had the pronunciation [*bĕt*] in Hawes. The phoneticians always give *let* short, and it seems to be always short in the dialects. In the absence of satisfactory confirmation from the phoneticians and the rimes, the spellings of themselves do not allow us to say with certainty that there was a long vowel in the inf. in the 16th century. *Late* was introduced from ON. *láta* in the 13th century, and was shortened to *lat*; spellings indicating both a long and a short vowel occur in the 16th century. *Lat* and *læt* are to be found in the dialects, see Wright *EDG.*, Index *s. v.* The short form in *a* may be from a shortened form of the imperative. WS. *lǽt* before *mē* > *lăt mē* (Saxon form). *Let* may have arisen in the same way, Anglian *lēt mē* > *lĕt mē*. Cf. German *lăssen* from earlier *lāʒʒan* for the same reason. Or, (*lĕt*) may have come from a short form of the pt. and ppl., cf. *kep* from *keep*, *menne* for *mean* (NED.), *leffe*, *lef*, *lev* for *leave* (NED.). Cf. also *beat, eat, leap, shed.* The pt. form *lete* in Cx., sometimes in the 16th century, if the spelling is to be trusted, and frequent in modern dialects, is from OE. pt. *lēt*. *Let* with short vowel is on the analogy of the weak verbs. *Late* is on the analogy of Cl. IV; cf. *lāp* pt. of *leap*, *slap* of *sleep* (Hanssen p. 120). I have not found it after Cx., but (*lēt*) is common in the dialects. In the ppl. I have found *late* (in Cx. only), *lat* (A XXVI), *laten* (down to Tott.), *latten* (down to Cov.), (*for*)-*leten* (Cx., Lkbsch.), *letten* (down to Sp., in NED.

down to the 19th century), *lete* (Cx.), *let(t)* (usu.), *letted* (Fisher). Of these forms *latn* and *letn* are in modern dialects. NED. also gives *leate*. *Leate, lete, leten,* if really long, are from OE. *lǣten*. *Lat(e), laten* are from inf. *late* (ON. *lata*). *Letten* is a mixture of weak and strong. *Let* is weak.

Inf. Cx. *late* Cu. 2, etc., *lete* E. 108, etc., *lat* B. 156, *let* C. cij, (*lete*) occurs 2 in R., 41 in M., *late* 16 in R., 4 in M.); CeP. *let, lett(e), lete, lat(t), late*; Or. Sap. *lette* 385; A XXVI *late* 112, *latte, lette* 214; Gesta Rom. *lete* (E. E. T. S.) 432 [W. de W. 1510]; Pyramus & T. *lett* : *sett* A. XII, 17; Ellis A *lating* i. I, 40 (Hen. VII), *lat* 131 (Sc.), *late* ii. I, 270 (Hen. VIII), *latt* 228 (cardinal), *lete* i. I, 134 (Tunstall), *let(t)* (5); BernH. *let, lett(e)* 14. 16 (usu.), *lete* 16 (3), *lat* 558; Hawes *let* : *bete* inf. (Percy) 136, *set* ppl. 153. 173; Tott. *let*; *profet* 224; Cov. *let* Mk. 1, *lat* Lk. xv; Ellis B *let, lett(e)* (6), *late* iii. III, 158 (agent), *lating* ii. II, 89 (Hen. VIII), *leatt* iii. III, 174 (agent), *lete* 269 (agent); *let, lett(e)* only form in texts of Hexapla, Sk., Fisher, Hall, Ascham, Hoby, Ellis C & D, Lei. Cor., LyE.., LyP., Sp., Und., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Cocks. **Pt.** Cx. *lete* E. 7 (usu., 4 in M.), *let* R. 48, M. eej, *lette* M. E iij, *late* E. 26, M. I iij, E. 75; A XXVI *lete* 115, *lett* 108. 273; Gesta Romanorum *lete* (E. E. T. S.) 429. 435 [W. de W. 1510]; Pyramus and Thisbe *bete* A. XII, 17; Ellis A *lete* i. I, 135 (Tunstall), *lett* ii. I, 340 (agent); BernH. *lette, let* 79 (6), *lete* 115 (3); *let, lett(e)* only form in texts of Hexapla, Fisher, Ellis B, Wyatt, Cov., Ascham, Hall, Gasc., Lei. Cor., LyE., Sp., Und., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm., Cocks; mod. diall. *lēt, līt, lūt*, Sc. n. Ir., Nhb., w. Yks., Lan., *letted* s. Chs. (*rare*). **Ppl.** Cx. *late* GB. 166, R. 17, *lete* R. 49, M. d v, Pj, forleten GB. 58; Lkbsch. *leten, -yn*; A XXVI *lat* 194; Gesta Rom. *letten* (E. E. T. S.) 432, *laten* 433 [W. de W.]; Fisher *let* 228, *letted* 354; Ellis B *let* ii. II, 287 (Duchess of Somerset), *letten* leased iii. III, 141 (petition), *lett* = leased iii. III, 215 (agent); Tott. *laten* 48; Cov. *letten* Josh. ii. (5), *let* Heb. xii. (3), *latten* Gen. xxxi; Ellis C *letten* (2), *lett* = leased iii. IV, 194 (business document); Bullein *letten* blood in Dialoge (E. E. T. S.) 20. 40. 41; Challoner *letten* in Eliz. Eng. 154; Sp. *let(t)* usu.), *letten* v. ii, 12; *let, lett(e)* only form in texts of Hexapla, Sk., Ellis A, BernH., Ascham, Hall, Hoby, Lei. Cor., Und., Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Cocks; mod. diall.

latn, letn, litn Sc. n. Cy. w. Yks. Lan. s. Chs. s. Not. Lin. Nhp. War. Shr. Nrf., *lotn, lɔtn* Sc., *lot* Irel., *letted* Der.

Not in BJG. Gill, *inf.* let (21).

§ 165. **Read.** There is no evidence for a short inf. in this verb. In the pt. we have *radde* in Cx. and Sp.; this is shortened from the OE. weak form *rædde*. The usual pt. is *read, red*. In the ppl. we have *radde* in Or. Sap., *rad* in Sp., shortened from the OE. weak ppl. *gerædd*. The usual ppl. is *read, red*. Boehm gives *rid* from Sp. (vii. vi, 54); but the meaning here is very doubtful, and the form cannot with certainty be put down to *read*. It is not given in NED. [*ridn*] occurs in the dialects.

Inf. Cx. *rede* E. 3, R. 4 (o.); Ellis A *rede* (v. o.); Fisher *rede* 12 (o.), *read(e)* 351 (3); Palsgr. *rede* 681; Ellis B *reede* i. II, 122 (agent), *reade* ii. II, 206 (T. Barnabe); BernH. *rede* 383; Ascham *read(e)* 154 (10), *rede* p. x (2); Hoby *read(e)* 12 (3), *rede* 64; Sp. *read* (usu.), *readen* iii. xii, 26, *reed* i. i, 21, *fore-red* Mpt. 29; Heyw. *read* (usu.), *reed* : *indeed* VI, 99; *read(e)* only form in Hall, Ellis C, Gasc., LyE., LyP., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV., BJ., Sm., Cocks. **Pt.** Cx. *redde* E. 1, M. S j, *radde* R. 47; Fisher *redde* 140, *read* 358; Ellis A *rede* ii. I, 287 (Pacc), *red, redd(e)* i. I, 152 (Sir T. Boleyn) (5); BernH. *red* 57. 407; Ellis B *rede* i. II, 43 (Ld. Derby and Sir H. Faryngton) (3), *redde* 44 (ib.); Cov. *red* 2 Kgs. xxii; Hall *rede* 30 b, *red* 60 b (3), *read* 234 (2); Ascham *read* 14 (4), *red* 16 (6), *redde* 54; Ellis C *red* ii. III, 16 (agent); Gasc. *red(de)* I, 100 (3), *read* II, 244; Sp. *read* i. xii, 25, *red(d)* iv. x, 9 (o.), *rad* vi. i, 4; Und. *read* 107, *redde* 285; *read(e)* only form in LyE., LyP., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm., Cocks; mod. diall. *readed* Brks. w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *redde* E. 4, R. 62 (usu.), *rede* B. 47, *red* 119, Or. Sap. *radde* 327; Ellis A *read* i. I, 147 (Sir T. Boleyn), *red(de)* 195 (More) (5); Fisher *red(de)* 70 (v. o.), ? *rede* 39; Ellis B *rede* i. II, 20 (Catherine of Arragon), *red(de)* 43 (Earl Derby and Sir H. Faryngton) (2); BernH. *red* 380 (3); Wyatt *red* XIX, 206; Hall *red(de)* 3 (16), *read* 195 (4); Ascham *red* 51 (7), *read* 51 (7); Ellis C *readd* i. III, 49 (St. P.), *red(de)* 45 (Cecil) (2); Gasc. *read* : *head* I, 123 (9), *redde* II, 14; LyE. *read(e)* I, 180 (v. o.), *redde* I, 209; Sp. *read(e)* v. xii, 39 (6), *red, redd(e)* i. vi, 36 (o.), *rad* iii. ix, 2 (5); Cocks *read*

152 (v. o.), *redd* II, 344 (not by Cocks); *read(e)* only form in Hoby, LyP., Ellis D, Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm.; mod. diall. *redn, ridn,* m. Yks. s. Chs.; *readed* Brks. w. Som.

Not in BJG. Gill *inf.* rëd (3), *pt.* red (4).

§ 166. **Shed.** The OE. inf. was *scādan, scēadan.* The vowel in modern *shed* is to be explained from the weak forms (Bülbring, p. 108). There are a few rimes and spellings that point to length. *Shed* rimes with *dede* in A XXVI and with *read* pres. in BJ. (Epigr. cxxx); *shede* is a fairly frequent spelling at the beginning of the period, *shead* occurs in AuV. In the Hexapla, *sheed* occurs seven times in Tindale, *sheade* once in G., *shede* once in R., *sheading* once each in C., G., R. Smith gives *shĭd* for *scindere* (p. 41). (*ʃīd*) is found in the modern dialects of n. Cum., and *sheeded* in the dialects of Lan. Lei. Nhp. Shr. The [*ē*] comes into the inf. from 2 and 3 pers. sg. ind., *i. e.* **skaiđis* > *scēdes* > *scēades, -est*; **skaiđiþ* > *scēdeþ* > *scēadeþ, scēatt,* so inf. *scēadan*; cf. *lie, vie, beseech,* in which the inf. comes from 2, 3 pers. sg. The short spellings are by far the more frequent in our period; it rimes short in Levins (p. 48), and is given short by Butler (p. 48).

In the pt. and ppl., Fisher has *shead* three times (usual form *shedde*); in the ppl., Und. has *shede, shed* once each. If these spellings *shead, shede* can be taken to indicate length, which is by no means certain, then they come directly from the OE. pt. *scēd, scēad.* The ppl. *shadde* in Cx. (*ʃadn* in mod. dialects, see the lists) is on the analogy of *drad* from *dread, sprad* from *spread.* Further we have the pt. sg. *shodd* in *Women Saints* (E. E. T. S., O. S., No. 86) p. 102 (date 1610-15), pt. *shod* and ppl. *shodden* from Butler (p. 48), pt. and ppl. [*ʃod*] in modern dialects, see the lists. This can only be explained on the supposition that inf. *scādan* > *shoden* (cf. pres. *shode* in Gower I, 101), and that the form was then extended into the pt., and shortened before *d* or *dd.*

Inf. Cx. *shede, -yng* GB. 1 (usu.); A xxvi *shed* : *dede* 160; Fisher *shede, -ynge* 64 (usu.), *shed(de)* 116 (4); Palsgr. *shede* 717; Ascham *shedynge* 13; Hall *bloudshedyng* 230 b; AuV. *shead* Ezek. xvi, 38 (4, all in Ezek.), *shed* Prov. i, 16 (20); *shed(de)* only form in BernH., Cov., Ellis C and D, Nashe, Shaks., Heyw., BJ., GF., Cocks. **Pt.** Cx. *shedde* M. Y vj; Fisher *shead* 379,

shedde 175 (3); *shed(de)* only form in Cov., Ellis D, Shaks., Heyw., AuV.; mod. diall. *fod* Sur. Sus. Som. Dev. (= divide); *sheeded* Lan. Lei. Nhp. Shr. **Ppl.** Cx. *shadde* GB. 33, *shed(de)* GB. 57, 273; Fisher *shedde* 21 (usu.), *shead* 385, 412; Und. *shede* 108, *shed* 282; *shed(de)* only form in Palsgr., Cov., Wyatt, Hall, Ellis C, Shaks., AuV., Heyw., BJ., Sm.; mod. diall. *fadn, fedn, fidn* m. Yks. s. Chs. Shr., *fod, fɔd* se. Wor. Sur. Sus. Som. Dev., *fīded* Lei. Shr.

Not in BJG. or Gill.

2. Verbs with *-ōw-, -āw-, -ēawan* in inf.

§ 167. The verbs in this class are *blow*[1] (from *blāwan*), *blow*[2] (from *blǣwan*), *crow, flow, grow, hew, know, mow, sow, throw.* These verbs differ considerably in their development. *Know* and *throw* are always strong in pt. and ppl.; *blow*[1], *crow, grow* are generally strong, but have occasional weak forms; *flow, mow* and *sow* have a weak pt. and strong ppl.; *hew* usually has a weak pt., but occasionally a strong one, and the ppl. sometimes weak, sometimes strong; *snow* is usually weak, but strong forms do occur; *blow*[2] is only recorded in ppl., where it is always strong.

§ 168. BJG. (c. 19) says: "Pr. *know.* Past *knew.* Par. pa. *known.* This last form cometh oftener than the three former [i. e. *slay, fly* or *draw*]; as *snow, grow, throw, blow, crow.*"

§ 169. **Blow (blāwan).** NED. gives a weak pt. from the 14th century, also from Armin's *Nest Ninn.* (1842) 23. It is the only pt. in modern dialects. In the ppl. NED. gives *blowed* only for the 16th century; I have found it only in Shaks. Here again the dialects have no other forms. *Blowe* occurs as ppl. in NED. only in the 14th century; I have found it in A XXVI in rime. NED. also gives *i-blowe* from the 14-16th centuries.

Pt. Cx. *blewe* GB. 108; Machyn *bluw* 184; *blew(e)* only form in all other writers noted; mod. diall. *blowed* Kcb. Nhb. s. Chs. War. Wor. Shr. Brks. I. W. w. Som. Dev. **Ppl.** Cx. *blowen* GB. 279, E. 150, R. 118; A XXVI *blow : trow* 178; Fisher *blowen* 18, 175, 176; Ellis B *blown* iii. III, 217 (Dr.

London); BernH. *blowen, -yn* 94, 118, 302; Wyatt *blowne* XIX, 433; Surrey *blowen* 303; Gasc. *blowne* I, 333, *blowen* I, 416 (4), *oreblowen* I, 404 (scans as 1 syll.); Harvey *blowne* 83; LyE. and P. *blowne* II, 55. 346 (6); Und. *blowen* 11, 83; Sp. *blowne* v. xi, 29, vi. vii, 3, *blowen* iv. xii, 1; *upblone* iii. vi, 9; Shaks. *blowne, ouer-*, Ven. 778, Tp. ii. ii, 114 (c. 30), *blowed* H5, iii. ii, 96 (Macmorris), *blow'd* Oth. iii. iii, 182; AuV. *blowen* Job. xx, 26, Am. iii, 6 (4); Heyw. *blown(e)* I, 263 (o.); BJ. *blowne* E. iv. v (6), *flyblowne* SN. Ind. iv. iv; Sm. *blowne* 294 (3); Voy. C. *blowen* 24, 75; Cocks *blowne* 303 (3), *blowen* II, 93. 318; mod. diall. *blowed* s. Chs. n. Lin. Nhp. War. Shr. Oxf. Brks. n. Wil. Dor. w. Som. Dev. Cor.

BJG., see § 168. Gill (p. 31) ppl. *bloun*.

§ 170. **Blow (blōwan).** NED. has no strong forms in the 16th century for the pt., nor have I found any.

Ppl. Surrey *blowne* 296 [Tott. *blowen*]; Tott. B. *blowne* 1565; Shaks. *blowne* MA. iv. i, 59, A. & C. iii. xiii, 39, etc., *vnblowed* R. 3, iv. iv, 10 (so F1, other edd. *vnblown*); BJ. *blowne* D. iii. iii, *ful-blowne* P. Prol.

§ 171. **Crow.** NED. gives *crowde* pt. from Greene's *Menaphon* (Arb.) 28. I have it also from Sm. It is noticeable that *crew* is the only form in all the versions of the Bible. It is not weak in modern dialects. Butler gives no alternative weak form, though he does for *snow* and *sow*.

Pt. Cx. *crewe* C. h vj; Cov. *crew(e)* Mt. xxvi, 74 (5); Und. *crewe* 126; Shaks. *crewe* Ham. i. i, 147, ii, 218; AuV. *crew* Mt. xxvi, 74 [so all verss.]; Sm. *crowed* 683; mod. diall. *kriu* Sc. Yks. **Ppl.** Mann. *cockcrowen* 86; Shaks. *crow'd* Rom. iv. iv, 3; mod. diall. *krān, krǭn* Sc. m. & w. Yks. s. Chs., *kriun* Sc.

BJG., see § 168. Not in Gill.

§ 172. **Flow.** NED. gives no example of a strong pt. after the 13th century, from which time the weak pt. begins. The first example of a weak ppl. it gives is from the 16th century. I have found a weak ppl. in Shaks., AuV. and Dekker.

Pt. Cx. *flowde* R. 54, and always weak in other writers. **Ppl.** Ellis A *ouerflowen* iii. II, 115 (T. Cromwell); Nashe *ouer-*

flowen PP. F1; Shaks. *flow'd* 2H4, iv. iv, 125, v. ii, 130, 3H6, ii. v, 72, *flowne* All's ii. i, 142, *ore-flowed* Per. iv. iv, 40, *ouer-flow'd* Tit. iii. i, 230, *ouer-flowne* Mids. iv. i, 17; AuV. *ouerflowed* 2 Pet. iii, 6, *ouerflowen* 1 Chr. xii, 15 (3); Dekker *ouerflowed* 7 Sinnes (Arb.) 48.

Not in Gill or BJG.

§ 173. **Grow.** *Growed*, which I have found once as pt. in Cx., is given in NED. from the 14th century on; it is the only form in the dialects for pt. and ppl. *Growe* is given as ppl. from 14-17th centuries.

Pt. Cx. *grewe* GB. 29 (usu.), *growed* M. qj; *grew(e)* only form in all other writers; mod. diall. *growed* s. Chs. n. Lin. War. Shr. I.W. Dor. w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *growen* E. 18 (always); Lkbsch. *growen* (9), *-yn* (5), *growne* (1), *growe* (2); CeP. *grown*; Bk. St. A. *groyn* c ij; Barc. *ouergrowe* : *lowe* II, 300; Ellis B *growen* ii. II, 188. 9 (Edw. VI's tutor), iii. III, 43 (Sir P. Dutton); Hall *growen* 139 b; Cov. *growen* Ezek. xvi (usu.), *growne* 1 Kgs. xii, 8 (the exception); Ascham *growne* 282; Hoby *growen* 6, 339; Ellis C *growen* i. II, 299 (Fleetwood), *growne* iii. III, 371 (Marq. Winchester), IV, 57; Lei. Corr. *grown* 22, *groen* 23, *growen* 342 (Walsingham); LyE. *growen, ouer-* I, 278 (4); LyP. *growne* II, 347 (5), *-en* III, 173 (3); Kyd *growne* Cor. 181 (12); Sp. *growne* ii. iii, 9, *growen* i. vii, 10, ix, 35 (both 2 syll.); Und. *growen* 120 (3); Mann. *growne* 131, *grone* 39; Ellis D *grown* i. III, 108. 271; Shaks. *growne* Sonn. xxxii (so always); AuV. *growen* Ru. i, 13 (so always); Heyw. *growne* I, 17 (so always); BJ. *growen* SN. v. ii, *growne, ouer-* P. i. ii (4); Sm. *growne, ouer-* 62 (12), *ouergrowen* 193; Voy. C. *growen* 59 (5); Cocks *övergrowen* II, 229; mod. diall. *growed* Yks. s. Chs. n. Lin. War. Shr. Oxf. Sur. Som. Dev.

BJG., see § 168. Gill, *inf.* gröu (pp. 38. 128), *pt.* grv (p. 116).

§ 174. **Hew.** NED. gives pt. *hew(e)* for the 16th century, but without quotation. I have found nothing later than Cx. Weak forms for the pt. and ppl. date from the 14th century. In our period weak and strong forms are almost equally common in the ppl.

Pt. Cx. *hewe* GB. 257, sg. M. c iij (usual), *hewed* E. 140, M. s vj; Cov. *hewed* 2 Chr. xxxiv; Sp. *hewd* iv. iii, 25; AuV.

hewed Deut. x, 3 (5). **Ppl.** Cx. *hewen* E. 98, R. 11, *to-hewen* B. 142, E. 101; BernH. *hewen*, *-yn* 121 (4); Cov. *hewen* Lev. i (15), *hewed* 2 Chr. xxxiv; PPP. *hewed* II, 211; Fenton *hewed* II, 115; LyE. *hewen* I, 249 (3), *hewed* II, 131 [*E, rest* hewen]; LyP. *hewed* II, 342, *rough hewne* III, 42; Kyd *rough heawn* Jer. 48; Sp. *hewen* i. vii, 33, iii. vi, 48 (1 syll.), i. viii, 22, ii. ix, 24 (2 syll.), *hewed* SI. 658; Nashe *hewd* CT. H4, SW. M3 b, *hewne* CT. N2 b (remin. of Bible); Und. *hewed* 39, adj. 250; Shaks. *hew'd* Tit. ii. iv, 17, *hewne* 3H6 ii. ii, 168, *hew'ne* 3H6 v. iv, 69; AuV. *hewed* 1 Kgs. v, 17 (8), *hewen* Isa. x, 33 (17) [T., C., G. have *hewen* 8, R. *hewed* 4]; Heyw. *hew'd* III, 16, 143; Sm. *hewed* 656, 684, *hewen* adj. 672, *unhewed* adj. 957; Cocks *hewed* II, 161.

BJG. (c. 19) gives *hewed* and *hewn* as alternative ppls. of *hew*, he gives no pt. Not in Gill.

§ 175. **Know.** Ppl. *knowe* in Sp. is a pure archaism and is not otherwise noted for the 16th century in NED. Cf. Gill's statement at the end of the lists. I have found no weak forms during this period, nor are any given in NED.

Pt. Cx. *knewe* C bj (always), *thou knew* E. 98; *knew(e)* only form in all other writers; mod. diall. *knewed* n. Yks. Lei., *knowed, knawed* in many diall. from north to south. **Ppl.** Cx. *knowen* Cu. 8 (usu.), *kno* M. Pref.; Lkbsch. *knowen* (10), *-yn* (1), *known* (1), *knawe* (1); CeP. *knowne* 124; Ellis A *known(e)* (4), *knowen* (4), *-yn* (1); Barc. *knowen* I, 35, II, 24; Fisher *knowen* 3 (usu.), *knowne* 362; Ellis B *knowen* (7), *-yn* (1), *known(e)* (3); BernH. *knowen* 14 (usu.), *knowyn* 34, *knowed* 66; Cov. *known(e)* Lev. v, 1 (only form noticed); Hall *knowen, vn-* 6 (7), *knowne* 158 (2); Ascham *knowen* 15 (usu.), *knowne* 274 (5); Machyn *knowen* 58; Hoby *knowen* 33 (usu.), *knowne* 135, 137; Ellis C *knowen* (3), *known(e)* (2); Gasc. *knowne* I, 35, *knoune* II, 331, *knowen* I, 180, 241; Harvey *knoun* 5, *known(e)* 22, 170; Eliz. & Jas. *knowen, un-*, 58, 155, *knowne* 74; LyE. *knowen* I, 182 (usu.), *knowne* I, 218; LyP. *known(e), vn-*, alone III, 349 (o.); Sp. *knowen* ii. ix, 50, iii. ii, 3 (2 syll.), iv. iv, 40 (1 syll.), *known(e)* iv. x, 18, v. iv, 15, *knowe* SC. Sept. 160; Und. *knowen* 2 (usu.), *knowne* 168; Ellis D *knowen, un-* (3), *knowne, un-* (usu.), Shaks. *knowne* Tp. i. ii, 358 (always); AuV. *knowen* Ps. lxxvi, 1 (always); Heyw. *known(e)* : *towne* IV, 169 (always); BJ. *knowne* SN. ii. v

(always); Sm. *knowne, vn-* 49 (usu.), *knowen, un-* 871 (4); Voy. C. *known(e)* 2, *knowen* (3); Cocks *knowne* 12 (usu.), *knowen* II, 275; mod. diall. *niu* I. Ma., *knowed* in various dialects from Scot. to w. Som.

BJG., see § 168. Gill, *inf.* knöu (4), *pt.* knv (2), *ppl.* knöun (6), *non* knön *sed* knöun (p. 13).

§ 176. **Mow.** I have found only weak forms in the pt., and apart from the example in Shakespeare, only strong forms in the ppl. NED. gives pt. *mew(e)* for the 15th and 18th centuries and as dialect in the 19th, and ppl. *mowed* from the 16th century on.

Pt. Palsgr. *mowed* 641; mod. diall. *miu* Sc. n. Cy. Yks. Lin. e. Cy. **Ppl.** LyE. *mowne* II, 174; Shaks. *mow'd* 3 H 6, v. iii, 4; AuV. *mowen* Ps. lxxii, 6; Heyw. *mowne : throwne* V, 373; BJ. *mowne* SN. iv. ii; Sm. *mowne* 951; mod. diall. *miu* e. Suf., *mowed* ne. Yks. s. Chs. Shr. Brks.

BJG., see § 168. Not in Gill.

§ 177. **Snow.** The only strong forms I have been able to find are ppl. *besnewe* from Challoner and *snowen* in *Hye Way to Spyttel House* (Flügel's Lesebuch, p. 203). The *Athenæum* (Jan. 15, 1910, p. 80) mentions *snew* and *snowen* as occurring in North's *Plutarch*. BJG. makes it strong (see § 168), so does Butler (p. 50), giving *snowed* as alternative for pt. and ppl.

Ppl. Challoner *besnewe* in Eliz. Eng. 156; mod. diall. *pt. sniu* from Sc. to Hmp., *ppl. snān, snǭn* Sh. I. Cum. Yks. e. An., *sniun* Sc. m. Yks. (obs. in both).

BJG., see § 168. Not in Gill.

§ 178. **Sow.** The pt. is always weak, the ppl. sometimes weak, sometimes strong, but the strong forms are more numerous. *Sawen, -yn* in Barc. may be due to the fact that he was a Scotchman; but cf. Bülbring, pp. 104-5. Butler makes it strong, even in the pt., but gives an alternative *sow'd* for pt. and ppl. (p. 50).

Pt. Tott. B. *sowede* 79; Sp. *sowed* vi. iv, 14; Shaks. *sowed* LLL. v. iv, 383 (2); AuV. *sowed* Matt. xiii. (always); mod. diall. *siu* Sc. n. Cum. Yks. e. An. **Ppl.** Lkbsch. *sowen*; Barc.

sawen, -yn I, 43 (3); Surrey *sowne* : *bemone* 302; Cov. *sowne* Lev. xi. (3), *sowen* Isa. xix. 7 (2); Hall *sowen* 155 b; Ascham *sowne* 241; Hoby *sowed* 45; Gasc. *sowne* I, 124. 153; Fenton *sowenne* II, 147; LyE. *sowed* II, 8 (2), *sowen* I, 234 (2), *sowne* II, 210; LyP. *sowen* III, 182; Sp. *sowed* SI. 675, *sowen* i. iv, 42, iv. i, 25 (2 syll.), vi. iv, 36 (1 syll.), *sown(e)* i. vi, 45 (3); Shaks. *sow'd* Tw. N. v, 168, Cor. iii. i, 71; AuV. *sowen* Isa. xix, 7 (32); Heyw. *sown* I, 332, *sowed* III, 210; BJ. *sow'd* A. ii. i; Sm. *sowne* 538; mod. diall. *sowed* nw. Der. Lei. w. Som.

BJG., see § 168. Not in Gill.

§ 179. **Throw.** There is nothing to notice in the history of *throw*, except that the ppl. *throwe* occurs twice in Barc. for the rime. Weak forms do not occur.

Pt. Cx. *threwe, ouer-*, E. 158 (so. always); BernH. *ouerthrewe* 242, *-thrue* 615; Cov. *threw* Ex. xiv. (usu.), *thrue* Acts xxii, 23, 2 Pet. ii, *threwest* Nah. ix, 11; Machyn *thruw* 35. 196; *threw(e)* only form in all other writers; mod. diall. *throwed, thrawed* from Bwk. to Cor. **Ppl.** Cx. *throwen, ouer-*, GB. 101 (usu.), *ouer thrawen* B. 86. 203; Ellis A *throwen, ouer-* i. I, 214 (Surrey) (2); Barc. *throwen, -yn, ouer-*, I, 191 (4), *ouerthrowe* : *blowe* II, 213, *flowe* II, 252 (3); Fisher *throwen, ouer-* 97 (usu.), *throwne* 421; Ellis B *thrown* (3), *-en* (1); BernH. *ouerthrowen* 259; Cov. *throwne* Lam. ii. (always); Hall *throwen, ouer-* 160 (4); Ascham *throwne* 131; Gasc. *throwne* (4), *-en* (4); LyE. *thrown(e), ouer-* II, 45 [*E, rest* ouerthrowed], *throwen* II, 139; LyP. *throwne* II, 317 (2); Sp. *thrown(e)* i. v, 47 (2), *thrówen, ouer-*, ii. ii, 2, i. xi, 30 (2 syll.); Und. *throwen, ouer-*, 9 (3); Ellis D *thrown(e), ouer-* (2); Shaks. *throwne, ouer-*, AYL. i. iii, 13 (c. 43); AuV. *throwen, ouer-*, Ex. xv, 1 (c. 33); Heyw. *thrown(e), ouer-* II, 155 (v. ö.); BJ. *throwne, ouer-* A. ii, ii (5); Sm. *throwne, ouer-* 49 (6); Voy. C. *throwen* 116; Cocks *thrown(e), ouer-* 30 (8); mod. diall. *þriun* Sc., *þrut* w. Yks. Lan. Chs. nw. Der.

BJG., see § 168. Gill, *pt.* thrv (pp. 104. 115), *ppl.* thröun (p. 31).

3. Verbs ending in *ll*, or *l* + consonant.

§ 180. This class includes *fall, fold, hold. Fall* is the only verb of the class, all the modern forms of which are descended from OE. forms without being influenced by analogy; *fall, fell, fallen* corresponds exactly to OE. *fallan, fĕoll, fallen. Fold* early became weak; strong forms occur once in pt. and now and then in the ppl. in the 16th century. In *hold* the pt. *held* ousted ppl. *holden* except in a few special phrases.

§ 181. **Fall.** The pt. was *fĕol* in OE.; this could hardly give *feel* (*ēo* > *ē* > *ī*), a form which does occur in Cx. and Ellis. NED. gives *fele* for the 14th century only. The connection with OE. *fĕol* is thus so slight, that it does not seem likely that it has survived in *feel.* More probably the latter is a misspelling. The form *fil* is possibly to be explained on Luick's theory that in certain ME. dialects (*ē*), if shortened, turns into (*ĭ*). See *Stud.* pp. 190-8. Cf. *hold*, § 183. It is given by NED. only for the 14th-15th centuries. It is however common till late in the 16th, *fell* rimes with *untill* in Bolle (p. 34). It is still used in the dialect of m. Yks. In the ppl. *fal(l)* occurs as late as Barc.; NED. gives it for the 17th century, but without quotation. *Fell* in the ppl. is now used in the dialect of Brks. Apparently it is peculiar to Shaks. in the ppl.; from 16th century literature at any rate the NED. gives no other example. A weak pt. and ppl. are given by NED. for the 16th century. The ppl. *felled* with mixture of weak and strong occurs in Sp., but only for the rime; it also in the Berkshire dialect. The pt. *fyld* showing the same mixture occurs in Cx.; it is not mentioned in NED.

Pt. Cx. *fille* E. 139, *fyl, fyll(e)* GB. 247, R. 22 (usu.), *fyld* GB. 59, *befylle* GB. 20, *feell* B. 203, *befel* C. eiij, M. aj, *fell* B. 28. 188, *befelle* M. P ij (in M. *fyl(le)* 11, *fel(le)* 38 times, in R. *fell(e)* not noticed); Lkbsch. *fell(e)* (3), *fel* (1); Sk. *fyll* 8, *fell* 362 [so Faukes 1523, *MS.* has *fille*]; Ellis A *fill* i. I, 217 (Surrey), *feel* iii. I, 280 (agent), *fell* i. I, 31 (Sc.) (4); PPP. *fill* I, 149, II, 131, *fel* I, 322, *fell* I, 149 (usu.); Harvey *fil* 2. 52 (5); Bolle *fell* : *untill* in *Liederbücher* 34; *fel(l)* only form in Fisher, Barc., Palsgr., Wyatt, BernH., Cov., Ascham, Hoby, Gasc., Lei. Corr., LyE., LyP., Kyd, Sp., Shaks., AuV., BJ.,

Heyw., etc.; mod. diall. *fil* m. Yks., *felled* Brks., *falled* Nhb. Lan. s. Chs. w. Som. Dev. **Ppl.** Cx. *fallen* B. 49, GB. 18, C. diiij (usu.), *by-, befallen* R. 56, M. Z v (5), *fal* B. 19, *falle* E. 35, M. dvj (3), *befalle* M. L vij, T iiij; Lkbsch. *fallen, -yn* (8), *falle* (2); CeP. *fawllyn* (1); Sk. *fall* I, 185: *all* 101, *withall* 110; Ellis A *fallen* iii. I, 173 (Pace), 328 (Sir W. Bulmer), *faln* II, 66 (Oxford don); Barc. *fallen, -yn* I, 189 (3), *fall* II, 66 : *at all* II, 202, *befallen* I, 68, *befall* : *hall* I, 25; Fisher *fallen* 70. 101, *faulne* 372; Tott. *falne* 108, B. 147; Machyn *falne* 5; Gasc. *falne* I, 35 (4), *fallen* I, 246 (3); Harvey *faln* 16, *befallen* 101, *fallin* 172; LyP. *fallen* II, 360 (2), *falne* II, 392 (2), *braunfallen* III, 59; Kyd *falne* VPJ. 28 (2), *fallen* HP. 459. 618 (both prose), *fall'n* STA. 1986, *brawne-falne* Cor. 707; Marlowe *fallen* F 1 82, *faln* T 1 24. 47; Sp. *faln(e)* ii. iv, 36 (7), *fall'n* vi. vi, 20, *fallen* iii. v, 29 (2 syll.), *befallen* i. xii, 15 (3 syll.), *feld, be-* i. viii, 47 (three times, all in rime); Und. 33. 93 (6), *falne* 274; Ellis D *fallen* iii. IV, 177 (educ. Irishman), 182 (Princess Palatine), *falne* 185 (bishop); Shaks. *falne* Tp. ii. i, 181, 1 H 6 ii. i, 49, etc., *fallen* Lr. i. i, 200 (2 syll.), MND. iii. i, 417 (1 syll.), etc.; *fell* Tit. ii. iv, 50, Tim. iv. iii, 265, Lr. iv. vi, 54; *befalne* Lucr. 1599, Err. i. i, 124, etc.; AuV. *fallen* always; Heyw. *falln* I, 142. 239, *faln(e)* II, 400 (o.), *fallen* I, 340 (4), *trade-falne* I, 254, II, 300; BJ. *fallen* E. i. iii. (5), *falne* SN. ii. i. (5), *fall'n* V. i. iv. (5), *chap-falne* P. v. iii; Sm. *fallen* 26 (3), *falne* 417, *befallen* 944; Cocks *falne* 167, *fallne* II, 29; mod. diall. *feln* s. Chs. (*intrans.*), Shr., *fel* Brks., *falled* s. Chs. (trans.), n. Lin. w. Som. Dev., *felled* Brks.

BJG. (c. 19) *fall, fell, fallen.* Gill *inf.* fall (o.), *pt.* fel (p. 126[4]), befel (p. 138), *Metaplasmo occidentali* ivél *pro* bifél (p. 138).

§ 182. **Fold.** A pt. *folde* occurs in Sackville's Induction to the *Mirror of Magistrates,* stanza xi. NED. gives weak forms for the pt. from the 14th century on. It also gives the ppl. *folden* from Caxton *Chron. Eng.* ccxxi, 123; this form occurs later in Cov., Hall and AuV., and from the NED. it seems to have been common in the 17th century also. The NED. gives *fold(e)* as ppl. for 14-17th centuries; I have found *vnfolde* riming with *beholde* in Tottell (p. 80).

Pt. Always weak, except for the instance from Sackville given above. **Ppl.** Cov. *folden* Ex. xxviii, xli; Tott. B. *yfold* 1319; Hall *folden* 51, *folded* 96, 166; Eliz. & Jas. *unfolded* 42; Kyd *folded* adj. Cor. 428; Shaks. *folded* LLL. iii. i, 183, *foulded* Tit. iii. ii, 7; AuV. *folden* Nahum i, 10; Heyw. *folded* I, 340.

Not in Gill or BJG.

§ 183. **Hold.** This verb was conjugated in WS. *healdan, hēold, healden.* Mod. Eng. *hold* is from Anglian *haldan,* but WS. forms lived in the ppl. for some time in the South. We find *yhelde* in the *Usages of Winchester* and Chestre's *Romances,* see Bülbring, pp. 103-4. The pt. *hēold* regularly > *hēld* > *hīld,* forms the existence of which is testified to by *heelde* in Cx. and Rastell's *Pastime of People* (ed. 1811) p. 52, and by rimes in Skelton, Hawes and Sp., the latter, however, doubtful. BJ. has the rime *held* : *yeeld* in his *Hymenæi* for ppl. and pt. (ed. 1640, pp. 148, 150 respectively). Shaks. twice rimes the ppl. with [ī], the pt. only with [ĕ], see the lists. I have found no spelling and nothing in the phoneticians to confirm this [ī] in the ppl.; [ī] does not occur in modern dialects, either for the pt. or the ppl. It may be that [*hīld*] was transferred to the ppl. on the analogy of *held,* and that it left no trace, because it was already obsolescent. On the other hand Shaks. once uses also *gaue* as ppl. for the rime, and BJ. *brake.* We may have here a similar invention for the sake of the rime. *Hīld* occurs in Cx., Lkbsch., Ellis, Tott. B. (l. 1204) and Sp. Cooper gives it as *barbarē* (Ellis p. 1009). It also occurs in ppl. in Sp., and riming with *kild, fulfild* in Shaks. NED. gives it from Golding's *De Mornay* (1587). This too is not in the dialects, either for pt. or ppl. It is to be explained like *fill* from *fēol,* as [ĭ] arising from shortening of [ē] in ME., see § 181. *Hold(en)* was the usual form of the ppl. at the beginning of the period; but at the end *held* is more common, except in legal phraseology, where *holden* kept its place. A distinction is made between *beheld* (= seen) and *beholden* (= obliged to). NED. explains *beholding,* as arising "through confusion of the endings (cf. esp. the 15th c. spelling *-yne* for *-en*), or, more probably, after *beholden* was shortened to *behold, behold,* and its grammatical character obscured, the general acceptance of "beholding" may have

been due to a notion that it meant 'looking' (*e. g.* with respect, or dependence), or to association with the idea of 'holding of' or 'from' a feudal superior". NED. gives *helden* from 14-16th centuries; I have found no example of it. This form probably comes from pt., though where it occurs in the south, it might be from the original ppl. *healden*; *yhelde* is found in the *Usages of Winchester*, see Bülbring pp. 103-4. But the earliest example the NED. gives of *helden* is from the *Cursor Mundi*, a northern text. The earliest example of *held* I have found is from Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience* l. 756 (Hanssen p. 97). The next is from the Norfolk Gilds of the year 1389 (Dibelius § 274). The earliest southern example is from the Acts of Parliament of 1503 (see NED.). The fact that the earliest examples yet found are northern, make it certain that in the north at any rate the form comes from the pt., and its late appearance in southern texts points to its being taken from the pt. there also. The form *healde* (Eliz. & Jas. p. 115) need not be interpreted as long. Diehl gives spellings like *himsealf*, *ealm* (= elm), *seante* (= sent) (p. 15; see also Rudolf, pp. 6-7).

Pt. Cx. *held(e)* E. 9, B. 85 (usu.), *heelde* E. 141, 163, 157, *hylde* M. a vij, *helden* pl. R. 32, 37, 46, *beheld(e)* B. 77 (usu.), *behylde* B. 91, 168, 156; Monk of Evesham *hild, hylde, be-* 32 (5); Lkbsch. *held(e)* 17, *hield*, *hilde*; Sk. *vphelde* : *felde* sb., *yelde* inf. I, 5; Ellis A & B *held* i. I, 206 (More), *beheld* iii. II, 191 (anon.), *hylde* III, 182 (agent); Hawes *behelde* : *shelde, fielde* in *Past. Pleas.* (Percy) 179; Sp. *held(e)* i. ix, 29 (usu.), *hild* : *wield, upfild* iv. iii, 42; Shaks. *held* Ham. ii. i, 87, *beheld* : *exceld* Lucr. 416 (so always); *held(e)*, *be-*, *up-*, *with-*, only form in all other writers noted; mod. diall. *(h)āld, vuld* Frf. e. An. w. Som. e. Dev., *helded* Sc. (*obs.*), *holded* Ant. Nhb. Cum. Yks. Lan. I. W. Wil. **Ppl.** Cx. *holden* E. 29 (usu.), *hold(e)* GB. 276, M. A j, *yholde* B. 110, *beholden* B. 71 (7), *-yng* M. o ij (3), *beholde* M. T v, u iij, *wythholden* E. 13; Lkbsch. *holden, -yn* (o.), *hold* (4), *hold* (1), *withholde* (3), *-en* (1); CeP. *holden, -yn*; Or. Sap. *beholdene* 327; Sk. *withhold(e)* I, 427 : *gold* 91; Ellis A *holden, be-, up-, with-*, usu., *helde* iii. II, 142 (agent, c. 1528); Barc. *holde* I, 12, *vpholde* II, 51, *-en* II, 223; Fisher *holden, be-*, 6, 23 (always); Palsgr. *helde* 586. 587, *holden* 587; Ellis B *holden* (always), *beholden* = obliged i. II, 197 (peer), *-inge*, *-yng* =

obliged ii. II, 275. 277 (peer and his niece); BernH. *holden* 8 (always); Cov. *holden* Acts ii, 24 (always); Hall *holden* 8 (5), *held* 133 b, *hold* 185, *beheld* = *seen* 15 b, 16, *beholden* = *seen* 76 b. 80 b (4); Tott. *held* : *feld* 192, *holden* 111; Ascham *holden* 51, *beholdinge* 201; Machyn *holden* 168; Hoby *held(e)* 21 (3); Ellis C *holden* i. II, 292, ii. III, 44 (legal), *beholdinge* i. II, 263 (Eliz.), *-ynge* ii. III, 10 (agent); Gasc. *held(e)* I, 108 (v. o.), *holden* (*are holden dear*) I, 408, *beheld(e)* I, 431 (4), *beholden* = *obliged* I, 251, *-ing* I, 424, 436; PPP. *beholden* = *seen* I, 61, III, 127, *beheld* = *seen* II, 239, *holden* II, 253, III, 348, *vp-* II, 289; Child Marr. *held* (E. E. T. S.) 92, *withholden* 138; Lei. Corr. *held(e)* 276 (6), *beho(u)lden* = *obliged* 115, 134, *be(e)houlding* 183 (Sherley), 382 (Walsingham); Eliz. & Jas. *healde* 115 (E.), *beholden* = *obliged* 14, 21, 32 (all J.); LyE. *held(e)* I, 326 (3), *holden* II, 192 (2), *beholding(e)* I, 187 (2); LyP. *held* III, 198 (2); Kyd *held(e)* HP. 1496 (3); Marl. *held*; Sp. *held(e)* ii. vi, 30 (o.), *houlden* SI. 611 (legal), *hild*, *up-*, iv. xi, 17, vi. xi, 21 (in rime); Und. *held* 164; Mann. *holden* 154; Ellis D *holden* i. III, 199 (legal), *held* iii. IV, 175 (educ. Irishman), *up-* i. III, 256 (Ld. Carleton); Shaks. *held* A. & C. ii. vii, 36 (usu.) : *field* Sonn. ii, *steeld* Sonn. xxiv, *hild* : *kild*, *fulfild* Lucr. 1257, *holden* 2H6 ii. iv, 71 (legal), *beheld* = *seen* Lucr. 451 (always so in this sense), *beholding* Wiv. i. i, 283 (20), *withheld* Jn. i. i, 18 (4); AuV. *holden* Job. xxxvi, 8 (12), *held* Rom. vii, 6 (7), *beheld* Nu. xxiii, 21, *withheld(e)* Gen. xxii, 12, 16 (4), *withholden* Ps. xxi, 2 (10), *upholden* Job. iv, 4, Prov. xx, 28 (*T.*, *C.*, *G.*, *holden* is only the form, *R.* has *held* twice, *holden* otherwise); Heyw. *held* I, 153 : *swell'd* VI, 299 (always), *beholden* = *obliged* IV, 177 (3), *-ing* I, 58 (v. o.); *misbeholden* I, 96, *beheld* = *seen* I, 162 (so always in this sense), *withheld* II, 140, III, 181, *upheld* II, 264; BJ. *held* SN. ii. i, *beholden* = *obliged* E. v, 1 (6), *-ing* P. i. ii, EMH. ii. i; Sm. *held(e)* 215, in legal sense 673, 677 (8), *beholden* 220 (4), *-ing* 528, *upheld* 819; Voy. C. *holden* (of a Council) 14. 26 (16), *holden* = *kept* 34. 71, *held* = *considered* 41, of a Council 50, *houlden* = *observed* 60; Cocks *held(e)* 168 (8), *beholden* II, 93; mod. diall. *(h)adn*, *(h)od n* Sc. Irel. n. Cy. Yks. Lan. Stf. Der. Not. Lei. Nhp. War. Glo. Brks. e. An. Ken. Hmp. Dor. Som., *(h)alt*, *(h)old*, *(h)old* Wxf. I. Ma. s. Chs. Hnt. e. Suf. w. Som. Dev., *holded* Yks. Wil. w. Som.

BJG. (c. 19) *hold, held, held,* or *holden.* Gill (p. 60) I hold *teneo,* I held, *tenebam,* I häv held, *aut* I häv holdn *tenui,* (p. 106), *ppl.* held (p. 148).

4. Miscellaneous Verbs.

These include *go, hang, hight.*

§ 184. **Go.** Sp.'s inf. and pres. *yeed* is a back-formation from pt. *yede,* and is taken by him from Sackville. See NED. *Yede* as pt. occurs in ordinary language as late as Machyn, *yode* as late as BernH. Here the 1601 ed. of BernH. changes *yode* to *rode.* All quotations later than Machyn in the NED. are purely poetical. But Gill says *yede* or *yode* was still used in Lincolnshire. *Gone* had already been shortened through want of stress in ME., see Hanssen p. 108. It rimes short fairly often in the 16th century. Bullokar gives it short (see Hauck, p. 23), so do Butler (p. 50) and Mason (p. 76). Gill however makes it long. Cheke gives it the same long vowel as in *moan* (*De. Pron. Græcæ* p. 121). Smith makes it long (p. 37). In addition, there are several rimes with [ŭ]; see the lists under Tott., Gasc. and Shaks. (See also Brugger pp. 326-7.) It will be noticed that these poets rime very often with [ō], and only occasionally with [ŭ]. No pronunciation [ŭ] is given in the phoneticans, nor is one to be found in the dialects. It is therefore likely that these are mere approximate rimes which do not point so the existence of a form [*gŭn*]. *Goo* occurs as ppl. in Cx., and *mysgo* in Barc. *Ygo* is frequent in Sp. and is also used by H. More (1647, see NED.

Inf. Sp. *goe, gang* SC. Mch. 56, *yeed* ii. iv, 2; pres. *go, goes, goth* (usu.), *gang* SC. Sept. 42, *yeed* Sept. 53. **Pt.** Cx. *yede* M. d viij (5), *yode* M. lj (4); Sk. *yede : fede* I, 157; CeP. *yede* (1), usu. *went(e)*; A XXVI *yode : hode, blood* 243, *yede : stede* 267; Ellis A *yode* i. I, 244 (Dacre); BernH. *yode* 636 [1601 *rode*]; Machyn *yed* 292, *yede* 58; Sp. *yod* i. x, 53, *yode* ii. vii, 2 (8); mod. diall. *goned* m. Yks., *gade, geed, gode* Sc. n. Cy. w. Yks. n. Lin. w. Wor. Glo. Nrf. w. Som. Dev., *yede, yode* Sc. n. Cy. Der. **Ppl.** Cx. *goon* R. 10, E. 107 (v. o.), *gon* B. 19, 121, E. 136, *gone* M. Xj, *goo* GB. 112; Sk. *gone : alone, grone* 23, *Albion* 378, *gon : none, undone* 153 (*gone* rimes 9 times with undoubted ō

in Sk.); Ellis A *gone, ovyr-* (4), *goon(e)* (5), *gon* iii. I, 206-7 (agent); Barc. *gone* : *bone* I, 44, *echone* II, 209 (3), *mysgone* II, 175, *mysgo* II, 329, *ago* I, 16, *agone* : *none* I, 68; Fisher *gone* 36, 193 (usu.), *gon* 358; Ellis B *gone* (usu.), *goon(e)* (3), *gon(ne)* (3), *a goyne* iii. II, 366 (bishop, same man writes *doyne* for *done*); BernH. *gone* 68, *gon* 352; Wyatt *gone* : *anon* XVIII, 488; Surrey *gone* : *Babylon* 291; Tott. *gone* : *mone* 169, *thereon* 255, *gon* : *stone* 161, *own* 236, *begon* [v. r. *be gone*] : *one* 163, *gonne* : *wonne* 190 (*gone* rimes 17 times with *ō*, twice with *ŏ*); Cov. *gone* 1 Sam. xiv, 3 (so always, as far as noticed); Hall *gone* 6 b (usu.), *gon* 158 b; Ascham *gone* 4 (7), *gon* 45, 102; Machyn *gone* 7; Hoby *gone* 179 (always); Ellis C *gone* (4), *gon(n)* (3); Gasc. *gone* : *mone* I, 408 (8 rimes with *ō*), *gon* : *stone* II, 54, *ronne* I, 390, *gonne* : *none* I, 74, *begone* : *moone* I, 39; Royster D. *gon* : *compassion* 12, *vpon* 48; PPP. *long agone* III, 246; LyE. *gone* I, 221 (4), *gon* I, 200; LyP. *gone* : *mone* III, 363 (v. o.), *gon* II, 348; Kyd *gone* (32), *begone* (17), *gon* (4), *be gon* (4); Sp. *gone* (o.), *gon* ii. xi, 5, *goe* SC. July 118, *ygo* i. ii, 18, iii. v, 3, xii, 41 (Liese says especially used); Dee *begone* 20, *gon* 45, 53; Und. *gone* 14 (usu.), *gonne* 61 (6), *gon* 180 (6 on this p.); Ellis D *gone* (always), *agon* i. III, 241 (courtier); Shaks. *gone* : *alone* Ven. 380 (I have counted 16 rimes with *ō*), *gon* : *alone* Sonn. xxxi, *gon* : *on* Ven. 1089, Sonn. v, *sun* Ven. 188; AuV. *gone* Gen. xliv, 4, *agone* 1 Sam. xxx, 13 (no forms without *e* noticed); Heyw. *gone* : *stone* I, 317, *alone* I, 324, *gon* : *alone* VI, 103, *one* VI, 263, *upon* VI, 224, *on* VI, 252 (11 rimes with *ō*, 6 with *ŏ*); BJ. *gone* : *stone* A. Argt. (3 rimes with *ō*, none with *ŏ*, no forms without *-e* noticed); Sm. *gone* : *none* 686, 815 (usu.), *gon* 133, 150, *vndergone* 516, 808; Voy. C. *gone* 1, 4, *vndergone* 34, 81 (so always); Cocks *gon* 10, 24 (usu.), *gone* II, 297; GH. *gone* : *possession* 31, *one* 67, *on* 71, *grone* 101; mod. diall. *gond* s. Pem. w. Som., *gǣd* Per. w. Som., *go* w. Som. n. Dev.

Not in BJG. Gill *inf.* go (o.), gang *pro* go *ito*, in Lincolnshire (p. 32), *ppl.* gön (pp. 33, 74), wö bigön (p. 88). On p. 32 he says that people in Lincolnshire say "yed *aut* yöd" for *went*; on p. 74 he says "*patres nostri substituerunt* J yëd, *aut* J yöd *ibā*; *nos* J went." On p. 111 he gives *yod* where Spenser makes it rime with *rod* (i. x, 53).

§ 185. **Hang.** The history of this verb is very complicated. The best account is in NED., to which I am much indebted; cf. also Schröer, A. Beibl., IV pp. 4-5. In OE. this reduplicating verb was conjugated *hōn, hĕng, hǫngen* (Sievers § 395). There was a weak verb *hangian* as well, and in ON. the weak inf. *hanga* had ousted the strong *há*. Early in ME. the ppl. form found its way into the inf., possibly on the analogy of other reduplicating verbs, but certainly helped by the weak verb *hongian* (cf. Bülbring, p. 106), and possibly by the ON. inf. *hanga*. In time the weak and strong verbs became completely confused in sense. Then the ON. *hengja* was taken over in north. Eng., *hēng* > *hing*, cf. *England*. (See Björkmann 157; PBG. I, 898, Schröer, as above). This *hing* is still found in the 16th century; see NED. *Hings* occurs in J. Davies *Scourge of Folly* Ep. 136 (Grosart's ed.) At first this verb was weak, but it afterwards adopted a pt. *hang* (*hong*) on the analogy of Cl. III. NED. says that in the 13th-15th centuries the south had pres. *hang, hong*, pt. *heng, hing*, while the north had pres. *heng, hing*, pt. *hang, hong*. *Hong(e)* however occurs as pt. in a good many southern texts (see Bülbring, p. 106), and once the pt. pl. *hunge* occurs in Robert of Gloucester l. 509. The exact value of the *o* and *u* in these forms is hard to determine (cf. Bülbring p. 106). *Honge* pt. sg. rimes with *sunge* pt. pl. in Wade 2145 (Dibelius § 273), and *hung* is used as pt. pl. and ppl. by Copgrave (Dibelius § 274). *Hung(e)* occurs as a ppl. in *Test. Ebor.* II, 175, III, 197 (Hanssen, p. 98). *Hung, hungin* occur in Douglas and Dunbar, see Knopff p. 14. These forms are mentioned here as they are not given so early in the NED. In our period the direct descendant of the OE. pt. *heng* is still seen in *heng(e)*, which is the usual form in Cx., is once employed by Barc. and is noted by NED. as late as 1596, though it must have been rare in the 16th century. *Hing, hyng(e)* from *heng, e* becoming *i* before *ng* (cf. Morsbach *ME. Gram.* § 109), occurs in Cx. Cx.'s pts. *henged, honged* are not given by NED. later than Wyclif, and they are characterized by it as northern. They are probably a mixture of strong and weak. In Machyn on p. 102 there is a possible occurrence of *hange* as pt., but the grammar of the sentence is so tortuous and involved that one cannot say what he meant by it. In the ppl. the quotation

from *Monk of Evesham* for *hangyn* is the latest for this form in NED. NED. also gives *honged* from Cx.'s *Gold. Leg.* p. 152a/1 and *hengyd* from Starkey's *England* p. 119 (date 1538). It now remains to consider the relations to one another of *hong, hung, hoong, houng.* The difficulty here is the same as that already discussed in connection with the verbs of Cl. III, namely, the exact meaning of *hong.* Just as in the verbs of Cl. III, it sometimes rimes with what is nowadays [ǫ] (*honge* ppl.: *longe* Barc. III, 148); but that does not prove anything as to the quality of the *o.* Cf. § 63. As the phoneticians do not mention [ǫ], no certain conclusions can be arrived at. The spellings *hoong, houng* point to [ǫ́] on its way to [*u*], but they only occur once each (in Tott. and Tindale's N. T. respectively), and therefore not much can be argued from them. The origin of *hung* is equally uncertain. Before our period it occurs as pt. pl. in Robert of Gloucester, pt. pl. and ppl. in Capgrave, and as a ppl. in certain northern texts. This special connection with the pt. pl. and ppl. looks as if it had been introduced there on the analogy of verbs of Cl. III.

Nowadays *hung* is general as pt. and ppl., *hanged* is only used in the sense 'to kill by hanging', as a rule (cf. NED.). In Elizabethan times this distinction seems to have been observed by Shaks., with the exception of one doubtful instance. In MND. v. 366, *hung* referring to death by hanging is the reading of the Ff., while the Qq. have *hanged.* All the Bible-versions subsequent to Tindale have *hanged* in all senses without exception. In this list g. after a form signifies that the verb is here used in the sense 'to kill or die by hanging'.

Pt. Cx. *henge* C. e iij (usual), *hynge* C. h vj, R. 37, 100, *henged* B. 29, *hanged* E. 160, *honged* FSA. 215; Barc. *henge* intr. II, 233, *hanged* tr. I, 82; Fisher *hanged* g. intr. 49, g. refl. 81, *hunge* g. intr. 392, *honge* g. intr. 417; Ellis A *hanged* intr. iii. II, 317 (Cranmer); BernH. *hanged, -yd* 91 (4); Cov. *hanged* Josh. x, g. 2 Sam. xvii, 23 (only form, found in all senses); Hall *hanged* tr. g. 55, 231b, intr. g. 53b, 224b, refl. g. 54b, 218, *hong* intr. g. 16, *honge* intr. 41b, *hong* intr. 74b, 207b, 217b; Machyn *hangyd* intr. 27, 139, g. intr. 21, 30, ? *hange* g. intr. 102; Hoby *hanged* g. 179; Gasc. *hung* I, 361, II, 239,

hong I, 455, *hoong* II, 228; PPP. *hong* II, 217; g. II, 218; Lei. Corr. *hanged* g. tr. 338, Harvey *hung* intr. 40; LyE. *hanged* g. I, 256, II, 112, *hung* II, 96; LyP. *hangd* II, 448, *hung* III, 271; *hanged* III, 314; Sp. *hong* i. iv, 27 (5), *hung* iv. iv, 16 (5), *hang'd* vi. viii, 42; Und. *hanged* 13 (5), g. 227, *hung* 144; Nashe *hung* C 1 b (4), *hangd* g. D 2 b (3); Shaks. *hang'd* g. refl. Mcb. ii. iii, 5, *handg'd* tr. Tim. i. ii, 22, *hung* never g. 1H4 iii. ii, 81, Shr. ii, 310 &c.; AuV. *hanged* Ps. cxxxvii, 2, g. Gen. xl, 22 (only form, used in all senses; *T.* has *hounge* g. Mt. xxvii, 5, *hanged* g. Lk. xxiii, 39, Acts v, 30, *honge* g. Acts x, 39, all the rest only *hanged*); Heyw. *hung* II, 235, V, 35. 152, *hanged* g. VI, 242; BJ. *hung* A. v. i (3); Sm. *hung* 54 (10), *hanged* 82, 378, *hanged* g. 525, 913; Voy. C. *hung* 14 (3); Cocks *hanged* 163, g. II, 202; mod. diall. *hunged* w. Som., *hanged* w. Yks. w. Som. **Ppl.** Cx. *hanged, -yd* C. f v, B. 14 (usu.), *hanged* g. B. 45, 52, 70, M. n vij, *honged* g. C. cv, *behanged* M. f vj; Monk of Evesham *hangyn* g. pass. (Arb.) 38; Barc. *hanged, -yd* I, 95. 205, *honge* : *longe* II, 148; Ellis A *hanged, -yd* in all senses (4); Fisher *hanged* 205, 398, g. 416, 417; Ellis B *hanged* in all senses (3); BernH. *hanged* in all senses 56 (v. o.); Tott. *hoong* 117; Cov. *hanged* g. Gen. xl, 23 (always); Hall *hanged* all senses (o.); Machyn *hanged, -yd* 4, 102 (o. in both senses), *hong(e)* 8, 40 (5), *hunge* 194; Hoby *hanged* both senses 183 (o.); Ellis C *hung(e)* i. II, 297, *hanged* g. 292 (both by Fleetwood), *hanged* ii. III, 115 (anon.); Gasc. *hangde, -ed* g. I, 37 (3); Fenton *honge* I, 131; Lei. Corr. *hanged* g. 254 (4), *hunge* 476 (anon.); Harvey *hangid* 41; LyE. *hanged* g. I, 103 (5); LyP. *hangd, -ed* both senses II, 463 (v. o.); Sp. *hong* i. x, 60 (4), *hung* iv. i, 21 (2), *hangd, -ed* v. v, 18 (3); Und. *hanged* g. 22; Ellis D *hanged* g. (o.); Shaks. *hang'd* g. Oth. i. iii, 367, iv. i, 38 (c. 60 in this sense), *hangde* Pilgr. 183, *hang'd* AYL. iii. ii, 182, Cymb. ii. iv, 68, *hung* g. MND. v, 366 (so Ff., Qq. *hanged*), *hong* Ven. 103, *hunge* Sonn. xxvii, *hung* Tr. iv. v, 188, Sonn. xxxi, &c., *vnhang'd* g. 1H4 ii. iv, 144; AuV. *hanged* Deut. xxi, 23, Mk. ix, 42 (only form in either sense in all versions); Heyw. *hang'd, hanged* g. I, 5. 8 (o.), *hung* g. II, 182, *hangd* I, 103 (4), *hung* II, 172 (5); BJ. *hung* V. v. xii (4), *hang'd* g. V. v. xii (10); Sm. *hanged* g. 12 (14), *hung* 19, 21, *hanged* 682; Voy. C. *hung* 32, 40 (10); Cocks *hanged* in either sense freq.; mod. diall. *aŋən* e. Yks., *ùŋən* s. Chs., *uŋ, vŋ* w. Yks. w. Som., *ə-vŋd* w. Som.

BJG., see § 136, also (c. 20) he says: "Certain *verbs* have the form of either conjugation; as *hang, hanged* and *hung.* So *cleave, sting, climb, catch,* &c."

§ 186. **. Hight, behight.** The forms in OE. were *hātan, heht* (*hēt*), *hāten*, which became in ME. *hote, hight* (*heet*), *hote*(*n*). About 1300 the pres. in the Midland dialect took the vowel of the pt. form *heet*; this occurs in Cx. as *heteth*, and NED. gives *hetest* from Sternhold and Hopkins *Psalms* cxix, 76 (1549-62). The pt. form *hight* occurs in the pres. from the 13th century, and is the usual form in the 16th century. *Behete* occurs as late as 1530 in inf. (see NED.). *Behote*, the strictly regular descendant of OE. *behātan*, occurs as late as 1591 in Lambarde (see NED.). The usual pt. is *(be)hight.* Sp.'s pt. *hot(e)* is peculiar to him, and is part of his unreal archaic language. In addition NED. gives *behoted* from the 1520 edition of Cx.'s *Chron. Eng.*, where Cx. had *behyghten*, and *behighted* from Foxe and Golding. In the ppl., the forms *behoten, hote* are from OE. *(be)hāten. Hoten* is given by NED. as late as 1643. *Hight* entered the ppl. about 1400, and is the usual form in the 16th century. NED. also gives frequent examples of *(be)highted* for the 16th century.

Inf. and **Pres.** Cx. *heteth* M. m iij, *behote* inf. M. q v; Or. Sap. *beheet* pres. 364; Palsgr. *behyght* inf. 447, *hyght* = *am called* 584; Surrey *highte* = *is called* 297; Tott. *hight* inf. 210; Gasc. *hyght* inf. II, 110, *hight* = *is called* II, 224, 274; Sp. *behight* inf. i. x, 64; Shaks. *hight* = *is called* LLL. i. i, 171, 258 (4). **Pt.** Cx. *hyght, hyȝt* M. a j, *behyght* M. B v, V j; Sk. *hyght* : *wryte* 58, *quight* 135; A XXVI *hyht* 111 [*P.* hote]; Pyramus & Thisbe *hight* : *myght* A XII, 17; Palsgr. *hyght* 584; Tott. *hight* : *sight* 10; Hoby *hight* 30; Gasc. *hight* I, 82, 86, 326; Kyd *hight* ST. 11; Sp. *hight* iv. iv, 17 (4), *hot* i. xi, 29, *hote* iv. iv, 40 (3), *behight* iv. iii, 31 (2), *behote* iv. iv, 40. **Ppl.** Or. Sap. *bihoten* 336, *by-* 388; Pyramus & Thisbe *hote* A XII, 17; Gasc. *behight* = *promised* I, 393; LyP. *hight* III, 363; Sp. *hight* i. ii, 44 (v. o.), *behight* ii. xi, 4, *behott* : *smott* pt., *shott* pt., *gott* ppl. i. xi, 38, *behote* SC. Dec. 54; Heyw. *hight* M. 20.

Not in BJG. Gill (p. 74) says, Hjht *nomino, aut nominor, in præsenti tantum Indicatiuo valet.* I hjht, ðou hjhtst; hï, wï, yï, ðei hjht. *hinc* bihjht *nuncupo aut voueo.*

Summary of Results.

The Ablaut in 2nd pers. sg. pt.

§ 187. In OE., the 2nd pers. sg. pt. had the vowel of the pl. and the suffix *-e*. The vowel of the third grade was kept in the southern dialects, as long as sg. and pl. were distinguished at all (Bülbring p. 116). Chaucer only distinguishes 2nd pers. from the rest of the sg. in Class III, though even there he sometimes has forms like *thou drank*. (ten Brink § 193). Such forms as *thou drunk(e)* are very rare in the 15th century, see Dibelius § 302. But the usual form in later ME. had the vowel of the sg. + suffix *-st* on the analogy of the weak verbs. This is the most frequent form in Cx. But forms without *-st* are to be found in Cx. and well on into the 16th century. In addition to the examples (*thou took, thou had*) given by Römstedt (p. 47), we find the following in Cx., *thou fond* in M. (reference lost), *thow gate* M. Q j, *sawe thou* M. dd vij, *thou knew* E. 98, *slew* M. m vj; also in weak verbs *cast thou* M. S ij, X iiij, Z ij. After Cx. we find *thou rose* (rime *woes*) in the poem *Greensleeves* (Robinson's *Handf. Pleas. Delightes* [Arb.] 19); *thou began* (Fisher p. 178, also *begannest* p. 180); *ran* Sk. I, 11; *bare* A XXVI, 169. 226. 257; *gaue* Sk. I, 140, Fisher 124 (but *gauest* 121, 128); *spake* Fisher 103, Heyw. IV, 90 (*spokest* IV, 40); *shoke* Sk. I, 10. Cf. also Hoelper p. 58. See also *was* § 131.

§ 188. The forms *beatedst* (LyP. III, 20), *foughtedst* (Bentley *Mon. Matrones* ii, 17) do not allow us to infer that Lylly and Bentley would have used *beated* or *foughted* in the 1st ps. They are probably on the analogy of *castedst* (AuV. Ps. lxxiii, 18), and similar forms in the weak verbs, where the *d* was inserted to distinguish the pt. from the present.

Voicing of the final consonants in pt. sg.

§ 189. There were a number of ME. verbs in which 1, 3 ps. sg. pt. ended in a voiceless consonant, but the inf., 2 ps. sg. pt., the pt. pl. and ppl. in a voiced one. The voiceless consonant seems to have become voiced on the analogy of the other forms at the end of the 15th century. Voiced forms are to be found in the sg. earlier. *ȝaue* occurs as pt. sg. in Wyclif fairly often (see Dibelius § 260), but the change cannot have become general till about 1500. Cx. has a voiced consonant only rarely. I give a table of spellings from Cx.:

For *f*: In the pt. of *carve, delve, drive, give, rive, shave, shrive, strive* Cx. has only *-f* or *-fe*. For *cleave* he has *claf(fe), clafe, clave, cleue, cloue,* for *heave* he has *heue, heef, heued.*

For *s*: For *choose* he has *chese, chase, chaas, choos, chose*; for *rise* he has *roos* and *rose*. For *freeze* he has pt. *frore.*

For *th*: For *writhe* pt. *wrothe,* for *worth* pt. pl. *worden.*

W. de Worde changes Caxton's *drofe* to *droue*, his *aroos* to *arose*, his *clafe* to *claue*, his *foryaf* to *forgaue*, his *gaf* to *gaue*. *Gaff* pt. rimes with *staff* in A XXVI, 108, Smith gives (*jaaf*) as pt. as late as 1568 (see § 120). *Rose* pt. rimes with *purpose* sb. in Hawes p. 178, with *close* a. in A XXVI, 240. From this material it would appear that Cx. still pronounced [*f*] in the pt. sg. except in *cleave* and *heave*, where he has both *f* and *v*. W. de Worde's changes prove that he at any rate generally said [*v*], but Smith's testimony shows that [*f*] in one word at least lived on some time into the 16th century, but that it was dying out. That [*f*] was not at all common in the 16th century is proved by its entire absence in rime after A XXVI (date c. 1500). For [*s*] I have found no rimes subsequent to Hawes. See however *rise*, § 20. Probably then, the change from [*s*] to [*z*] took place at the same time as that from [*f*] to [*v*]. For *th* I have found no rimes at all, Cx.'s spelling *wrothe* points to its being voiced. In *choose* and *freeze* the consonant [*z*] of the inf. has been extended through all the forms, although in OE. the pt. pl. and ppl. had [*r*]. This [*r*] is to be seen in Cx.'s pt. *frore* and ppl. *frorn* (also in Sp.). *Lose* is generally weak in ordinary language in the 16th century; the ppls. *lorn* and *forlorn* survived, but in special uses. Sp. formed a pt. and inf. *lore* from this ppl.

The pt. pl.

§ 190. There are very few traces of a separate ablaut-vowel for the pt. pl. Cx. has *arisen, ryden, smyten, smeton, chosen, choos, chose* (in sg. only *a* or *e* for *choose*), *dronken* [in sg. only *drank*(*e*)], *holpe, spoken* (the last three occur only once each). By confusion, Cx. has *camen* as pt. sg. (B. 86). Baldwin (§ 152) says that in M. *sware* appears to be always sg., *swore* always pl. This is not true of other works of Cx.; *swore* occurs as sg. in R. (p. 96). CeP. has in sg. *halpe*, in pl. *howllpe, howlp* (p. 81). This is the only example of any difference between sg. and pl. that I have found in CeP. Süssbier gives only one quotation for each, so that it is not much to go upon. Apart from these few instances I have found no traces of a distinction between pt. sg. and pt. pl.

The ppl. with or without *-en*.

§ 191. Bülbring (p. 117 *note*) has given the following rules as to the presence or absence of *-en* in the modern pt. ppl. *-en* can be absent (1) in verbs whose stems end in *d* or *t*; (2) verbs ending in nasal (*n, -ng, m*), because assimilation took place; (3) verbs ending in nasal + consonant (*-nk*), from analogy with (2); (4) when the ppl. has taken on the ablaut of the pt. A ppl. without *-en* for the verbs ending in *-d, -t* cannot be formed unless pt. and ppl. have the same vowel, (as in the weak verbs *lead, hurt*, &c.). *Bit, got* and *trod* beside the ppls. *bitten, gotten, trodden* are possible, because *bit, got, trod* are at the same time pt. forms, but ppl. *sit, hold, lade* are impossible in mod. Eng., because there are no pt. forms *sit, hold, lade*. The 16th century is interesting because it exhibits the modern rules in process of development. I will discuss Bülbring's rules with reference to our period in order, giving first the state of affairs before 1500 and then the development during the 16th century.

1. Verbs ending in *d* or *t*.

Cx. asually has *-en*, but the following forms occur, *smyte, ryde, ete, bode, forgette, lade, bete, bette, hold, lete, stood. Sat* is in the *Paston Letters*. Forms like *smyte, ryde* were

to be very common for Cl. I in the 16th century, because the vowel of the ppl. passed over to the pt., and inf. *smite*, pt. *smit*, ppl. *smit* ran just like a weak verb. *Ete*, *bete*, *bette*, having pt. forms to support them, were common in the 16th century; *forgette* died out because the corresponding pt. died out also. For *lade*, *hold* see below. On the other hand the ppls. *got*, *sat*, *stood*, *held* become very common, because the pt. had the same form. The ppl. *fought* is peculiar, because it is influenced by the weak verbs like *catch*, but *foughten* survived till late in the 16th century.

2. Verbs ending in a nasal.

Cx. has only forms with *-en* in the ppl. of *ring*, *sting*, *wring*, Or. Sap. has ppl. *clongen;* in the ppl. of *begin*, *come*, *sing*, *win* Cx. has forms with and without *-en*, in *benim*, *run*, *spin*, *spring* only forms without *-en*. *Rongen* occurs again in *3 Kings' Sons* (c. 1500), *songen* in Ellis (1555); *runnyn* in Ellis (letter from Gawyn Douglas), *sprongen* from Wolsey and Challoner, *clymmen* in Cov., *comen* as late LyE. and Sp. Otherwise the are no forms with *-en* in the 16th century. *Climb*, *come*, *fling*, *ring*, *spring*, *sting*, *swing*, *wring* have *-en* along with other forms in modern dialects.

3. nasal + consonant.

In the ppl. of *grind* and *shrink* Cx. has only *-en;* in *bind*, *drink*, *find*, *stand* he has forms with and withhout *-en*. *Founden*, *grounden*, *standen* become obsolete in the 16th century (see the discussions *s. v.*). A distinction of sense and usage is developed between *bound* and *bounden*, *drunk* and *drunken*, and there are signs of the modern distinction between *sunk* and *sunken*, *shrunk* and *shrunken*. The fact that such distinctions are developed here and not in the foregoing class is explained by *-nk*, &c., not being assimilated with *-en*, while they were in the other verbs that ended in a pure nasal. Forms with *-en* are in modern dialects for *find*, *grind*, *shrink*, *sink*, *slink*, *stink*, *wind*.

4. Ppls. without *-en* which have the ablaut of the pt.

Cx. has *broke*, *stole*, *stryke* (ablaut of pt. pl.), *tore*. These ppls. were to increase in number greatly during the 16th

century; cf., among others, *abode*, *drove*, *rose*, *wrote*, *chose*, *froze*, *began*, *ran*, *brake*, *gaue*, *spake*, *fell*. *Holp(e)*, which preserves the original vowel of the ppl., probably kept its place because a pt. of the same form had been made from it. The writers of the 16th century allowed themselves great freedom in this respect, especially when they were in a difficulty for a rime. In Cl. I these forms from the pt. received no recognition from grammarians (so far as I have been able to investigate them), except *drove* and *strook* in Butler; and the later tendency was to replace them by the original ppl. in *-en*, i. e. forms like *driven*, *written* kept their own and ultimately ousted forms like *drove*, *wrote*. In Cl. II, IV and V where *o* had entered the pt. from the ppl., the forms with *-en* prevailed in the long run, except in verbs whose stems ended in *d* or *t*.; i. e. forms like *broke*, *tore*, *stole* gave way to *broken*, *torn*, *stolen*. The verbs ending in *d* or *t* vary; we have *got* in England, *gotten* in America, *forgotten* in both countries; *trod* and *trodden* have survived together. There is no trace of a distinction as to the manner of forming the ppl. between *get* and *forget* in our period. *Sodden* has kept its *-en*, because it is used as an adj. much more often than as a ppl. *Began*, *brake*, *fell*, *gaue* are more or less nonce-forms; *drank* was to be extensively used in the 18th century. The dialects differ from standard English greatly in this point; forms like *bore*, *tore*, *froze*, *chose*, *strove* are common in the ppl. Two further groups remain to be considered, which, as not coming down to modern times, were not discussed in detail by Bülbring.

5. Ppls. without *-en* which have the vowel of the inf.

Of these Cx. has *hold* and *lade* mentioned under (1), and *fall*, *fare*, *giue* and *take*. In all of these cases, the original OE. or ON. verb had the same vowel in inf. and ppl. too. *Fall* and *lade* come down as late as Barc., *fare* is given by NED. for the 16th century, *giue* comes down to 1595, *hold* is found in Cov., *take* in Tott. *Give*, *hold* and *lade* are still in dialect.

6. Verbs without *-en* whose stems ended in a vowel.

Of these we find *drawe, go, kno* in Cx., *growe, beknowe* in Lkbsch., and *undoe* and *bego(e)* (= *begun*) in CeP., *mysgo* in Barc., *knowe* in Sp., *ygo* as archaism in Sp. and H. More, *drew(e)* (from pt.) in Und. · *Ago* survives in mod. Eng., but not as a ppl. *Go* is especially frequent in Cx. in combination with *been*. See Römstedt, p. 47. (*niu*) is the ppl. of *know* in the modern dialect of the Isle of Man.

§ 192. The next question that arises is, Was there any distinction of usage or meaning between the forms with and the forms without *-en*? In some verbs this is to be seen more or less distinctly, see *bind, drink, shoot, shrink, sink.* Sometimes there is a distinction between the strong ppl. in *-en* and the weak one in *-ed.* See *melt, shape, shave.* The distinction usually is that the form in *-en* has the function of an adj., the other form that of a ppl. Gasc. and Shaks. use *foughten* only as adj., *fought* only as ppl. See also *hold* and *behold*, § 183. Gill (pp. 69-70) gives the following rule: "*Licet hæc duo Tempora ab Adiectiuo Verbali passiuo formentur, per signa* hav, & had: *obseruandum tamen in illis verbalibus quæ in* n, *impurum desinunt, illud* n, *in his Temporibus aliquando negligi, quod in Adiectiuo negligendum non est: vt,* J hav, *aut* had spök tu him *dixeram illi; non autem* it is spök abröd, *sed* spökn, *emanauit in vulgus. Nec licet scribere* it is writ, *sed* writn, *scriptum est; quamuis dicas* J hav writ tu him *scripsi ad eum. Dixi aliquando, quia aliquando audias vtrumque,* J hav brök *fregi,* & it is brök *fractum est, aut vtrobique* brökn.

Datur quidem hæc sermoni venia, quia id sibi assumit, vt vsurpet J hav spök, writ, brök, *sed nemo disertus ita scribat.*"

I give here a table of the number of times the particular forms are used in certain writers.

Kyd.

broke. act. 3, pass. 6. *broken.* act. 3, pass. 2, adj. 5.
got. act. 3, pass. 5. *gotten.* act. 4, pass. 4.
forgot. act. 5, pass. 4. *forgotten.* act. 2, pass. 1.

Shaks.

(Counted from the *Concordance* of Cowden Clarke; doubtful cases ignored.)

Broke. act. 29, pass. 21. *Broken.* act. 6, pass. 14, adj. 29.
Chose. act. 5, pass. 1. *Chosen.* act. 0, pass. 13, adj. 4.
Got. act. 34, pass. 24. *Gotten.* act. 3, pass. 2, adj. 0.
Forgot. act. 41, pass. 17. *Forgotten.* act. 3, pass. 7, adj. 2.
Spoke. act. 54, pass. 29. *Spoken.* act. 20, pass. 31.
Took. act. 8, pass. 7. *Taken* (*tane*). act. 21, pass. 45, adj. 1.
Writ. act. 25, pass. 29. *Written.* act. 4, pass. 21, adj. 2.

Heywood.

Broke. act. 15, pass. 3. *Broken.* act. 1, pass. 3, adj. 13.
Spoke. act. 12, pass. 10. *Spoken.* act. 0, pass. 13 (usually in stage-directions), adj. 2. *Spake.* act. 1.
Took. act. 9, pass. 8 (mostly poetry). *Taken* (*tane*). act. 15, pass. 16, adj. 0.
Writ. act. 8, pass. 18. *Written.* act. 2, pass. 5. *Wrote.* act. 1.

It will be seen that the form with *-en* is, in proportion to the number of times that it occurs, more frequent in the passive than the form without *-en*, but not so frequent in the active.

§ 193. Another point that deserves mention is the treatwent of the combinations *-len, -ren, -ven.* In *-ren,* contracted forms are by for the most frequent; but *boron* occurs in Lkbsch., *boren* in Cx., Ellis and Voy. C., *shoren* in Cx., Lkbsch., Cranmer, *toren* in Barc., *forworen* in Fisher, *sworen* in Cx. and Cov., *soren* in Ellis. In *-len* we have evidence that contraction had taken place in the spelling *swone* (= swollen) in Machyn, and the rime *swone* : *bemone* in Tott. And the frequent spellings like *stolne, falne* etc., and the number of times these ppls. must be scanned as one syllable in poetry (see the lists), lead one to think that the present pronunciation with two syllables for these words in *-len* is a mere spelling-pronunciation. The phoneticians differ. Daines (p. 27) says that such contractions into one syllable 'be chiefly used among Poets'. Bullokar gives all his ppls. with syllabic *n*; he has *spokn* (p. 6), *dryun* (p. 37), *rizn* (p. 82), *stoln* (p. 28), *abyddn* (p. 5), *gotn* (p. 18). The references are to Plessow's

pages. Hart has *gotn, hapn, spōkn, tākn, tōkn, urɪtn* (p. 121). Gill gives the same pronunciations, and on p. 35 says that one must say *bidn* not *bidden*. Butler generally represents the last syllable of these forms by *-en*, but in the case of *drive* and *give*, he has alternative forms, *given* or *giv'n, driven* or *driv'n* (p. 49).

Forms with the prefix *y-* are found in Cx. (*yfonde, ybounde, yholde*, also in some weak verbs, see Römstedt p. 47), in CeP. (*ywreten, yyeven*, also in weak verbs, see Süssbier p. 87), and in Lkbsch. (*ywrite* p. 117). In the 16th century such forms are frequent in poetry both for strong and weak verbs; see Hoelper, p. 60.

The Usage of particular Writers.

I propose here to discuss the strong verbs as they appear in Cx., Sp., Shaks. and AuV.

§ 194. Cx. shows himself as rather conservative than otherwise, especially when compared with the writers in the *Paston Letters*, CeP., or Lkbsch. Perhaps, this may be accounted for on the supposition that letter-writers were free to write as they spoke, while Cx. may have thought that the dignity of print required that he should avoid new-fangled forms. For instance, *gaue* is a frequent form in CeP., Lkbsch. and *Paston Letters*, *spoke* and *gote* appear as pt. in *Paston Letters* and CeP., *satte* as ppl. in *Paston Letters, ron* and *burst* as inf., *burnyd* and *wrate* as pt. in CeP. All these forms were to become frequent in the 16th century, but there is no trace of them in Cx. Many changes characteristic of the 16th century are almost wholly absent in Cx.; for instance, the extension of the pt. into the ppl. and the ppl. into the pt. in Cl. I, the pt. in *ā* on the analogy of Cl. V in Cl. I (except in *strike*), the extension of the *ō* of the ppl. into the pt. sg. in Cl. IV and V, and the voicing of final consonants in the pt. sg. *Stood* is very rare as a ppl., *held* does not occur in the ppl., *hung* is neither in pt. or ppl., and yet these are all to be found before Cx. On the other hand he has forms in the pt. like *carf, frore, heng, hing, foryaf, lough* and the numerous forms for *choose* and *cleave*, in the ppl. forms

like *drawe, holde, honged, lade, late, stondyn, take,* all of which were obsolescent, and scarcely survive into the 16th century. Further Cx. has forms in pt. pl. like *abyden, ryden, smyten, sworen*; though it must be added that they are rare. This plenitude of disagreement with what was so soon to be the standard usage of literary English leads one to doubt the statement of Dibelius, that Cx. created standard English (Anglia XXIV, 304). On the other hand, the strong verbs form only a small portion of a large subject. I might here point out that the whole accidence of the works published by Cx. will have to be thoroughly examined, before his relation to his successors can be properly estimated. Römstedt's dissertation, excellent though it is as to the phonology, is in this other particular quite inadequate.

§ 195. With regard to Sp. I wish to note α) forms that are peculiar to him in the 16th century, β) rare forms. Of the former class are *bate, rad, bestrad* as pt., *rift* as ppl., *frorne* ppl., *lore* as inf., pt. and ppl. in Cl. II, *ringed* as pt. in Cl. III, *come* riming with [$\bar{o}$], *weft* pt., *ywrake* ppl. in Cl. IV, *quooke, awoke* pt. riming with *oo* in Cl. VI, *rad* and *feld* as ppl. in the Reduplicating Verbs. Among the rare forms are *driue* pt. and ppl. and weak form *driu'd*, the first is especially rare in poetry, *wot* as inf. (also in Marlowe), *cleau'd* as pt. (very rare), rimes with [*o*] for *bound* and *found, renne* as pres. and ppl., *bren, brent, ybrent*; *yold* as pt., *bed* as inf., *lope* as pt., *yeed* in inf. and pres. (in Sackville), *hild* pt. and ppl. (quantity of *i* doubtful, as it rimes with *wield* and *upfild*). That Sp. rimes *come* with [$\bar{o}$], *rad, bestrad* with [$\breve{a}$], while he rimes *bate* with [$\bar{a}$], *quoke* and *awoke* with *oo*, throws great doubt on the purity of his rimes. In one place he rimes *stoud* : *bloud* : *remoud* = removed (iii. ix, 43). Of course, one might explain *bate* as a northern form, *rad, bestrad* as northern with [$\bar{a}$] shortened before *d*, and assume that in *quoke* and *awoke* OE. [$\bar{o}$] had had its normal development. On the other hand Sp. also rimes *shooke* : *broke* : *stroke, wroke* and *looke*; *tooke* : *spoke* : *broke,* and *tooke* : *broke* (see Bauermeister p. 96). That Sp. was not alone in confusing such rimes is shown by the following rimes from R. Chester *Loue's Martyr* (ed. New Shaks. Soc. 1878); *shoken* (= shooken) : *broken* p. 133, *betoken*

inf. : *shooken* pp. 95-6. No real judgement can be arrived at on this question till the rimes of the other archaic poets have been examined, and especially those of Sp.'s imitators, to see how much they accepted or rejected of what he left them.

§ 196. The outstanding feature in Shakespeare's treatment of the strong verbs is the frequent use of the pt. as ppl. He has in the ppl., generally, of course, along with the regular forms, *droue, drouen, rode, arose, smote, stroke(n), wrote, began, swam, bad, gaue, forsook, shook, took, fell.* Compare this with Heyw., who has only *stroke, wrote, forsooke, shooke, took,* or BJ. who has only *wrote* and *brake.* Shakespeare's use of ppl. form *gaue* simply for the rime is paralleled by BJ.'s use of ppl. *brake* for the rime. Other things to notice here are the short rime for the pres. of *leap,* and the weak ppl. for *beat, blow, mow, sow.* In all these things Shakespeare shows himself as not in the least conservative, but as making use of the newer forms of everyday language. On the other hand, he sometimes has archaic forms. For instance pt. *forbod* (Lucr. 1648), the occasional long rimes for the pres. of *get* and *fret,* the rimes in [ĭ] and [ī] for the ppl. of *held* (also in Sp., and for [ī] in BJ.), *bounden* as ppl., *holpe* as pt. and ppl. These things were at any rate obsolescent in the standard English of Shakespeare's time. Of all these forms, *droue, gaue, shook, blowed* are still found in the ppl. in the dialect of Warwickshire.

§ 197. The AuV. is of course archaic in style. James I's instructions were that the ordinary Bible read in the Churches, commonly called the Bishop's Bible, was to be followed, and as little altered as the original would permit. In spite of its conservative character, its usage approaches mod. E. more nearly than that of any other book of the time. Its spelling and grammar seem to have been fixed beforehand, so that there is comparatively little variation. For instance, the ppl. is always written in full, *-en, written, fallen, knowen, stollen,* except after *r,* where we have *-ne* (*borne, shorne*) and in *slaine* (but *layen, lien*). Other writers of the period would have *growne, fall'n, faulne, stolne* as well as the fuller forms.

Ppls. without *-en*, or ppls. that simply take over the pt. form, are extremely rare; I have only found *abode*, *shot* (really weak), *sate*, *bid*, *held* (*holden* more freq.), and the verbs ending in a nasal. Another example of regularity and conservatism combined is furnished by the pt. forms of Cl. IV and V. The AuV. has only *bare*, *brake*, *tare*, *ware*, *ate*, *bad(e)*, *sate*, *spake*, *sware*. The forms from the ppl. are here avoided. On the other hand, the AuV. has in the pt. *stale* (rare so late) and *stole*, *got* five times, usually *be-*, *for-*, *gat(e)*, and only *trode*. Here the ppl. forms have found a footing. And in verbs of Cl. III which end in a nasal or nasal consonant, the AuV. sometimes has *a*, sometimes *u*; in those ending in *-nd* always *-ou*.

Conclusion.

§ 198. The ablaut-system had already undergone many changes in ME. Two tendencies in particular had done much to transform it. In the northern dialects the pt. sg. tended to displace the pt. pl., and in the western dialects and in Chaucer the vowel of the ppl. tended to make its way into the pt. In addition, analogy between the various classes and between the ablaut-grades of the same class, besides bringing about other changes, had lessened the number of varying forms. Many verbs became weak, or partly so. Some weak verbs (e. g., *wear*, *cleave*, *chide*, *spit*) became strong.

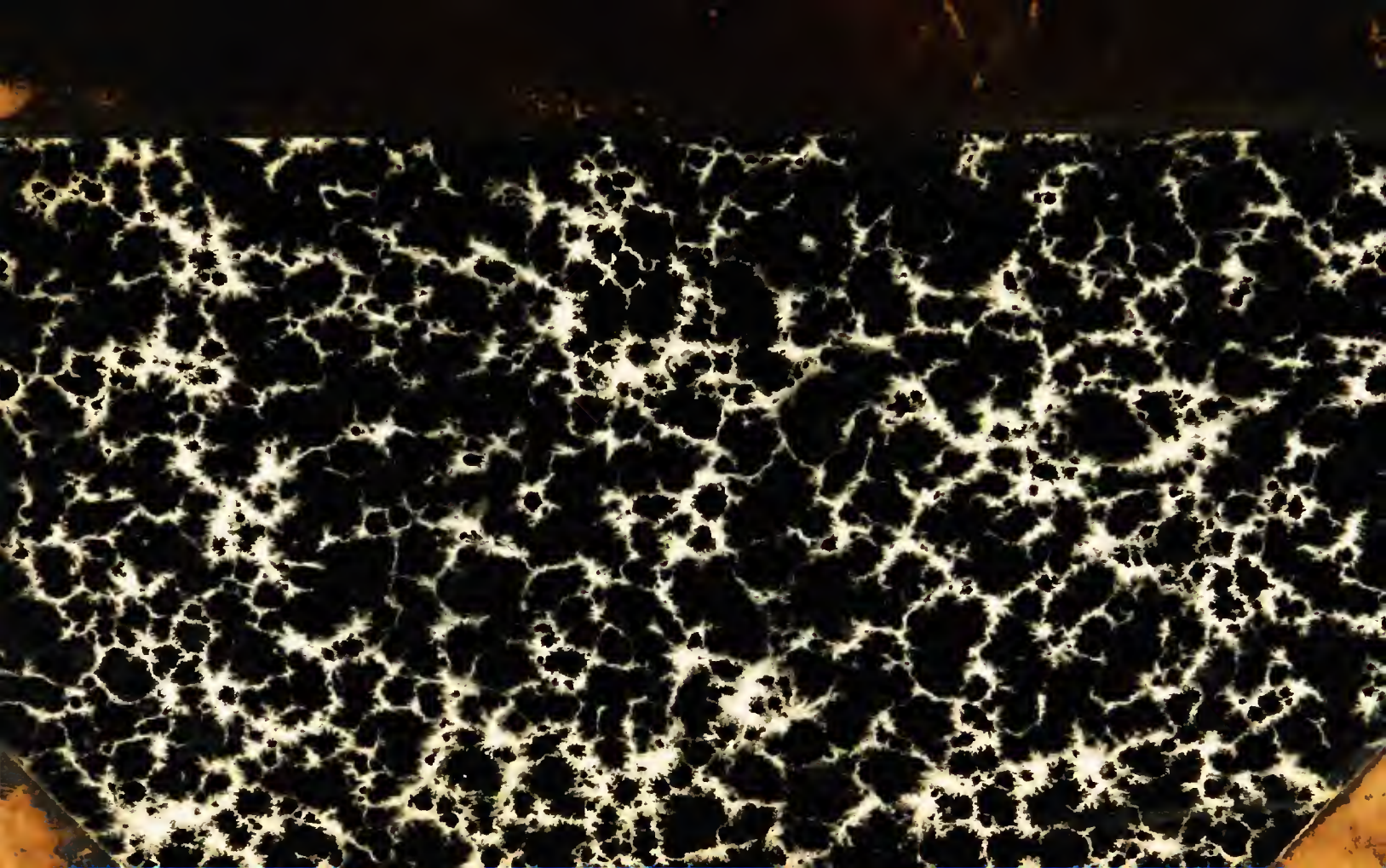
§ 199. At the beginning of our period there are only slight traces of 2 ps. sg. pt. and of the pt. pl. as separate ablaut-grades (see §§ 187, 190). These soon died out. The various classes did not influence one another much, except in so far as the tendencies in this direction inherited from ME. were carried further. For instance, there are many pts. in *a* in Cl. I on the analogy of Cl. IV and V, but that was already the case in ME. The most important new instance of such analogy is the appearance of *u* in the pt. and ppl. of *strike* (from *stick*) and in the ppl. of *dig*.

§ 200. The strongest influence in our period was that of the weak verbs. There were many weak vbs. ending in a dental, like *cast*, *hit*, *hurt*, which had the same form for inf.,

pt. and ppl., and there were others which had only two forms (e. g. *breed, bred, feed, fed*, etc.). So there was a tendency among the strong verbs to simplify the ablaut down to just two forms, one for the inf., the other for the pt. and ppl. This could be done either by extending the pt. form to the ppl., or the ppl. form to the pt. The former is very common in Cl. I, and other instances are: *began, drank, rang, brake, came, bad, gat, gave, sat, spake, drew, forsook, shook, stood, took, wox, fell, held.* Some of these are very rare, and indeed some occur only once; others like *took* were pretty common; *sat, stood* and *held* (all ending in a dental) are the only ones which have become standard English. The latter case was very common in all the classes, except the Reduplicating Verbs, where the ppl. had the vowel of the inf. In Cl. I it produced such forms as *writ, bit, slid, rid*, etc.; of these, *bit* and *slid* are the only ones that are in general use nowadays. The process in Cl. III is too complicated to be stated here; see the several discussions in Cl. III. In Cl. II, IV and V, the *o* was extended from ppl. to pt. in most verbs, and it has become general in modern English. The ppl. is found so often in the pt. become the pt. pl. either originally had the same vowel as the ppl., as in Cl. I, or it afterwords took on the same vowel by way of analogy. The tendency to have the same vowel all through is seen sporadically in *sit* and *bid*, and it produced the standard forms of *burst*. The ppl. sometimes influenced the inf., see *melt, (be)numb, flay, slay*. The vowel of the inf. is sometimes seen in the ppl. of *bid, bind* (once in Lkbsch.), *get* (rare), *lie* and *sit*; in *lie* and *sit* the form with the pt. vowel ousted it, and it has only survived in the ppl. of *bid*, because there was also a pt. *bid*. See § 191. Another example of the influence of the weak verbs is the shortening of the long vowel of the inf. (cf. *leap, let, dread, shed*). A large number of verbs became weak; some took a weak pt., but kept their strong ppl., and in others, forms showing a mixture of strong and weak appear (e. g. *cloued, chosed, drowed, felled, fyld = fell, frozed, grounded, flawed = flayed, holpt, stooded*).

§ 201. Another point that requires mentioning is the quantity of the *ā* or *ō* in the pt. To take *ā* first. Now-

adays we have a long vowel in the pt. of *come, give, lie*, and the archaic pt. of *break* and *speak*, but a short vowel in the pt. of *bid, eat* and *sit* and in the archaic pt. of *get*. With the exception of *break* and *lie*, which were only long, these verbs could be long or short in our period. See the several discussions in their places. With regard to the pts. in *ō*, we now keep a long vowel in Cl. I, and in the pts. of *freeze, cleave, break, speak, steal, weave* and of verbs ending in *-r*, but a short vowel in pt. of *seethe, tread, get*. In the 16th century *got* became short; *tread* had both long and short forms; there is too little evidence for us to judge as to *seethe*, but it favours shortness; Daines speaks of a short vowel for the pt. of *speak* and *steal*, and Gill says that *spoken* was short in his Lincolnshire dialect; and there is some — rather uncertain — evidence that the pts. in Cl. I were occasionally short. See § 5. Otherwise the evidence is all in favour of a long vowel in these pts. It will be noticed that those verbs in which the vowel is short nowadays, all end in a dental. Professor Schröer seems inclined to impute the preservation of short [*i*] in the participles of Cl. I to the large number of verbs ending in a dental that had short [*i*]; compare *abidden, bestridden, bidden, chidden, hidden, ridden, shidden, bitten, sitten, shitten, smitten, spitten, written, writhen*, with *driven, riven, thriven, shriven, striven, stricken, risen*. (See Englische Studien 38, p. 62). But I have not found enough evidence of a long vowel in these participles to make this assumption necessary. See § 3.

It may be added that grammar was not simplified by the changes of the 16th century. Confusion only became worse confounded. Simplification was the work of a later century.

Druck von Ehrhardt Karras, Halle a. S.